PICASSO 1906

The Turning Point

Organized by

MUSEO NACIONAL
CENTRO DE ARTE
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PICASSO

1906

The Turning
Point

On September 12, 2022, we launched, in the halls of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía that today hosts the exhibition *Picasso 1906: The Turning Point*, an ambitious program organized in collaboration between France and Spain to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of Pablo Picasso. The Picasso Celebration 1973–2023, which comes to a close with the opening of this final major exhibition, has made it possible to approach the figure and work of this universal artist from a contemporary perspective, contextualizing his contributions and allowing for new readings of an oeuvre that marked a turning point in the history of contemporary art and its public, social, and even economic dimensions.

This exhibition has made it possible to address and study Picasso's artistic production anew and up close. Like a sort of giant microscope, the exhibition zooms in on a specific year in the artist's vast production: 1906. And it does this with a concrete argument: that this year constitutes a specific historiographical period in Picasso's creative development, over and above the role as a transitional year to which it has generally been relegated. The exhibition highlights how, in the frenetic activity through which Picasso establishes a crucial dialogue over the course of 1906 with other key figures from the period, he prefigured the heterodox, multifaceted artistic vocabulary with which he would contribute to the birth of visual modernity. The year 1906 is the "great turning point" when the artist takes figurative representation to new places, redefines the complex relationship between background and figure, and absorbs cultural referents previously considered "primitive"—Iberian art, so-called *art nègre*, Catalan Romanesque art, protohistoric Mediterranean art, and ancient Egyptian art, among others—incorporating new approaches to the question of gender and reworking his relationship with art history.

This fascinating and exciting project, which gives us a novel perspective with which to reread work from a key period in Picasso's trajectory, would not have been possible without the work of all those who contributed to making the Picasso Celebration 1973–2023 a reality. Therefore I would like to conclude by expressing my gratitude to all those individuals and institutions that have collaborated on this 50th anniversary commemoration.

Ernest Urtasun Domènech
Minister of Culture

Picasso 1906: The Turning Point is among the exhibitions memorializing the 50th anniversary of the artist's death and celebrating his work and its historical importance as part of the Picasso Celebration 1973–2023.
The Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, which is home to a significant portion of Picasso's artistic legacy, has centered this exhibition on a specific date, 1906, the year during which this artistic genius would experience a transformation and that, with the creation of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, would be recognized as a global milestone in the history of art.
Revisiting this period not only reveals Pablo Picasso's importance as a key figure in twentieth-century painting and art history in general, but also, as Eugenio Carmona, the exhibition's curator points out, "seeks to shift our perspective and introduce new criteria for examining the artist's decisive participation in the founding of modern art."
The Community of Madrid's contribution to this exhibition renews its commitment to the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía and to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Picasso's death: it has collaborated with various cultural institutions to celebrate his work and thus contribute to projects that open up new lines of investigation into his artistic legacy.
For the Community of Madrid, it is an honor and a duty to contribute to the public's knowledge of the trajectory of Pablo Picasso, a masterful artist and universal icon in the history of art, and an indisputable example of the transcendence, modernity, and depth of Spanish painting.

Isabel Díaz Ayuso
President of the Community of Madrid

Telefónica, one of the world's leading telecom companies in the provision of technological, digital, and communication services and solutions, will be involved in all the events staged to celebrate the oeuvre of Spanish artist Pablo Picasso on the 50th anniversary of his death.

As a member of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the death of Pablo Picasso, it has entered into an agreement with Acción Cultural Española to collaborate on all the events and exhibitions scheduled to take place in Spain as part of the international program of the Picasso Celebration 1973–2023 that will run until 2024.

With this initiative, Telefónica wishes to join in the efforts to disseminate the work of the great Málaga-born artist hailed as one of the most prolific painters of all times by making his art more accessible to all audiences.

Among other actions, this participation involves developing a website that will provide a meeting point for everyone wishing to take part in the events revolving around the life and work of the Cubist genius par excellence.

In addition to providing the necessary means for enabling citizens to take part in the country's artistic expressions and cultural life, Telefónica implements other initiatives and projects to improve people's lives and help make the world more human through culture and connectivity.

Fostering a society's development through technology and innovation and guaranteeing connections that encourage dialogue between a country's cultural expressions and its citizens is one of the company's goals.

On this occasion, Telefónica is joining in a celebration that reflects the universality of culture and art and aims to help connect anyone interested in doing so with the figure of Pablo Picasso—one of the most important twentieth-century artists—and his long artistic career spanning more than seventy years.

Telefónica
Partner company of the Picasso Celebration 1973–2023 in Spain

When Pablo Picasso (Málaga, 1891 – Mougins, 1973) came into contact with the Parisian cultural scene in the first years of the twentieth century, he was a young artist, still in formation, who would soon capture the attention of some of the most influential figures of the avant-garde. The exhibition *Picasso 1906: The Turning Point* revisits his work from a key year in that early period of his career: 1906. It is a year that, from a contemporary aesthetic perspective, amounts to a "period" with its own essence and identity in Picasso's creative development: during that time his first contribution to the definition of modern art took shape.

Eugenio Carmona, the curator of this exhibition, tells us in the essay he produced for this catalogue that Picasso himself—who spoke little about his own art throughout his career—confirmed that 1906 was the year that, influenced by Paul Cézanne, he understood that "painting had an intrinsic value, independent of the actual representation of objects." His internalization of that idea—alongside his first attempts to put it into practice—is crucial because it shaped the transformation his work underwent during that period and that would mark the development of art in the twentieth century.

For Carmona, the "sense of the processual"; the concretization of the pictorial, the sculptural, and the "trace of the making-of"; and the ethics and aesthetic of the unfinished all become central to the Picasso of 1906. This allowed him to, among other things, redefine the complex relationship between background and painting, propose a new sense of mimesis through successive exercises in distilling and stylizing figures, and experiment with new material and tactile concepts in creating sculptures.

But the importance of 1906 in Picasso's work cannot only be explained by this "revelation." It also has to do with the confluence of a number of factors that make the "great transformation" of the exhibit's title possible. The year 1906 was, for example, when he met Gertrude Stein, his confidant and intellectual companion, to whom he would dedicate a portrait that has become one of the most emblematic works of this period. It is also the moment when the body emerges in his work as a signified; he stopped painting nudes and began painting bodies, evoking a "political, that is to say social, presence of subjectivity."

In 1906, in his quest for a primordial form of artistic expression, Picasso began his synergetic relationship with what would be referred to as "primitive art," a conceptual category that is rightly being questioned today and that the artist problematized in his own way. Carmona suggests that Picasso never worked with a specific ethnographic or cultural fixation, but instead aspired to capture a sort of common language or koine of the originary. Thus, in his work, a diverse set of cultural referents converge, from Iberian and Catalan Romanesque art to so-called *art nègre*, classical and archaic Greek art, ancient Egyptian art, and protohistoric Mediterranean art. Pablo Rodríguez's text also follows this logic, analyzing the various historiographical turns in the interpretation of the Picasso of 1906. Rodríguez underscores Picasso's ability to "work simultaneously with multiple influences" without discriminating among them, creating hierarchies, or allowing any one influence to dominate and exclude the others.

Picasso had used the mask-like face on various occasions during his Blue Period, a technique he likely adopted from Iberian art. In 1906, and especially following his stay in the village of Gósol in the Catalan province of Lleida, the mask-like face became a recurring element in his work. It is present in the portrait *Gertrude Stein*, mentioned above—the result of a hybrid blending of two dissimilar visual languages, which makes it function almost like a collage—as well as in his self-portraits from that year. The mask-like faces in those two cases resemble each other closely, perhaps a symptom of Picasso's "identification," which psychoanalysis understands as a sublimation of desire, with Stein.

To some extent, Picasso's 1906 portraits of Fernande Olivier, his partner at the time, are also studies of the mask-like face, and they attest to the artist's ability to create generic sets of features that he turns into a synthesizing ideogram. This same effect is present in the extensive repertoire of works featuring Josep Fondevila, the elderly owner of the Can Tempanada inn where Olivier and Picasso stayed during their time in Gósol.

The exhibition emphasizes the need to locate Picasso's "transculturality" as a key feature of his work, especially during this period, not only because of his use of originary, "primitivist" cultural referents but also because of his own biography and artistic formation. The Picasso of 1906 who enthusiastically embraced the libertarian cause was a migrant artist who absorbed elements of Catalan culture as his own without losing ties to his Andalusian mother tongue; an "eccentric" or "ex-centric" Picasso who, upon moving to Paris—the capital of French culture and the center of the avant-garde—had to undergo new processes of cultural adaptation.

The idea that 1906 was the "great turning point" that made it possible for Picasso to arrive at visual modernity was proposed by French journalist and writer Pierre Daix in 1966. This was a historiographic departure from the chronological narratives of the artist's work. This exhibition picks up Daix's proposal but takes the year 1906 as a whole—not only Picasso's experience in Gósol—as the center of this turn.

In approaching the 1906 Picasso as a distinct historiographical entity—revolving around the main axes of the body, form, and interculturality—the exhibition also highlights something that art critic Christian Zervos had already pointed out in the second volume of his renowned catalogue raisonné, namely, the need to understand Picasso's work not on the basis of an "evolutionary reasoning, based on the idea of progress and stylistic succession," but as a "turbulent flow of interruptions, metamorphoses, retreats, and continuities" where the processual has a "generative value" and influences act in a "dynamic and simultaneous fashion." Because in Picasso there is a permanent dialectical relationship between invention and influence—a nearly unstoppable drive to accumulate visual stimuli that will broaden his visual vocabulary. And that is what in 1906, spurred on by his desire to contribute to redefining the artistic experience through a quest for "the primordial," allowed him to travel different experimental routes along which his earliest decisive encounter with modern art took shape.

I cannot close this text without thanking the curator of this exhibition for his dedication to the project and Manuel Borja-Villel, my predecessor, for the decision to plan this show that I have had the privilege to inaugurate.

Manuel Segade
Director of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía

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Picasso 1906: The Turning Point

Eugenio Carmona

The Body and the Intrinsic Value of Art

A moment that Fernande Olivier recalls in her first book of memoirs serves to set the scene for the Picasso that is of interest to us here.[1] She does not date the description, but given the context of the narrative, I would venture to say that it evokes the setting of 1906. She writes: "The studio was as hot as a furnace in the summer, and it was not unusual for Picasso and his friends to strip completely. They would receive visitors half-naked, if not totally so; with just a scarf tied round the waist."[2] A young Picasso. Between twenty-four and twenty-five years of age. A nude Picasso. Picasso declaring something with his own body.

She goes on: "Anyway, Picasso liked wearing no clothes, and the beauty of his limbs was no secret. He had small hands and he was very proud of his Andalusian feet and of his legs, which were well-shaped though a little short. His shoulders were broad and he was generally rather stocky. He always regretted the lack of those few inches, which would have given ideal proportions to his body."[3] Andalusian hands and feet? What does it mean for Picasso's body to be tied to its place of origin?

Fernande and Pablo lived together beginning in the summer of 1904. By 1906 they had left bohemian life behind and embraced a new way of understanding a vitalist perspective. Picasso's positive relationship with his own body lay at the foundation of his self-esteem and was key in projecting to others his ability to take risks. He was successful in his interactions with others. But the other side of this image was just as accurate. Sorting through her memories, Fernande speaks of a Picasso who remained this same Picasso and, yet, was someone else. She recounts that during the early years of their relationship he spoke French very badly, and had an unkempt appearance and a chaotic lifestyle. Further along, she rounds things off with a phrase that gives us pause: "J'ai toujours considéré Picasso au milieu des Parisiens comme désaxé."[4] This other Picasso is one who is free in accepting his own body, but he is "off of his axle," off-kilter, out of place. Already charismatic, but "eccentric" or "excentric." A migrant Picasso. A foreign Picasso.

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[1] Fernande Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis* (Paris: Stock, 1933); Eng.: *Picasso and His Friends*, trans. Jane Miller (London: Heinemann, 1964).

[2] Ibid., 53–54; Eng.: 48.

[3] Ibid., 54; Eng.: 48.

This seems strange. Picasso had already been introduced in the more important circles of post-Symbolist poetry by Max Jacob; he had the critical support of Charles Maurice and Guillaume Apollinaire; he had exhibited at the Serrurier gallery and at Berthe Weill; he was recovering financially thanks to Ambroise Vollard; and he had found his way into the circle of the Stein family, quickly receiving special attention from Gertrude. Although this same Picasso was obstinate about not exhibiting in salons, and—in comparison to the work of the Fauves emerging at the time—his work was narrative, notably representational, and, we might even say, conservative, there is something in this Picasso that captivates those around them. But in him and in his artistic work, there is something "eccentric" or "excentric." From this tension between his strengths and his contradictions, his first definition of modern art will emerge.

Throughout his long life, Picasso said little about his own art. He was not one to offer explanations.[5] Thus it is surprising that he will at one point note a specific date: 1906. The memory returned to him nearly twenty years later and in an odd context: he was speaking to the Russian magazine *Ogoniok*.[6] He stated: "In 1906 Cézanne's influence … was everywhere. I understood that painting had an intrinsic value, independent of the actual representation of objects."[7]

Picasso could have recalled any number of things from 1906: his encounter with Henri Matisse and Gertrude Stein, the irresistible and multiple synergies that would end up being called "primitive art," his resumed passion for El Greco, the power of myth and art history hidden encrypted in his new images, the transformative dialogue between the figures and the background in his works, the dialectic relationship between emptiness and plenitude, the beginning of an understanding of the painting as object, his intuitive sculptural works allowing the tactile model to redefine the sensations of mass and volume, the emergence of the body as a signified. So many things. And of such importance. And he also could have recalled his tacit reference to homoerotic photography or ethnographical images, his interest in reproductions published in magazines for the masses, and—why not—his own experiences of "otherness."

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[4] "I have always felt that Picasso was out of his element amongst Parisians." Ibid., 115; Eng.: 94.

[5] See Marie-Laure Bernadac and Androula Michael, *Picasso. Propos sur l'art* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998).

[6] Pablo Ruiz Picasso, *Ogoniok*, no. 20, May 16, 1926; translated by C. Motchoulsky as "Lettre sur l'art," *Formes*, no. 2 (February 1930): 2–5.

[7] Bernadac and Michael, *Picasso*, 22.

But nothing is as unpredictable as memory, and Picasso instead recalled Paul Cézanne and what was for him, in 1906, a true revelation: the intrinsic value of painting, that is, the notion of "art in and of itself." This was not a new idea in 1906. But this was when Picasso absorbed the concept, despite the powerful iconographic weight of all of his works up to that point. Kant's legacy would spread, reaching even Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in his interpretation of Cubism, and it would likewise influence Roger Fry and Clement Greenberg. For many Anglophone critics, there is no true modernism without a formalist paradigm. And it is crucial that Picasso understood that in 1906. An evolved version of Symbolism remains alive in him. Each of his works will be complexly polysemous and intertextual. But Picasso began to understand that form is what conveys content. Heteroglossia and figurative polyphony only come through thanks to syntax. And, therefore, in the Picasso of 1906 we are always going to find a prevailing presence of the unfinished, the *non finito*, the trace of the making-of, the sense of the processual and in-progress, the emphasis on textures, and the evidence of the pictorial and sculptural that is, let us say, "stripped bare."

It is likely that Picasso knew of Adolf von Hildebrand. The movement in defense of form was likely widespread. Cézanne was not read in any other way. Leo Stein was particularly interested in Bernard Berenson.[8] Berenson might seem to be a mere *connaisseur* who rose in society thanks to his method and his commercial advice, but his views on art contained a paradigmatic view of the system of visual art as an idiolect created by the artist. Gertrude Stein is always presumed to be linked to the thought of William James, although she herself would deny it.[9] In the intense flow of ideas in James's *Principles of Psychology*, one idea appears repeatedly, seen, for example, in the following passage:

> aesthetic emotion, *pure and simple*, the pleasure given us by certain lines and masses, and combinations of colors and sounds, is an absolutely sensational experience, an optical or auricular feeling that is primary, and not due to the repercussion backwards of other sensations elsewhere consecutively aroused.[10]

The emphasis on *pure and simple* is James's. It is impossible to know if Gertrude spoke to Pablo about these ideas. She was writing *Three Lives* when the intense relationship between the two of them began. But she had *Q.E.D* stashed away. Some key life experiences contained in that novel might have helped her and Picasso understand one another. Whatever the case, her reconsideration of syntax and the collapsing of the boundaries between language and speech began to become, among other tenets, her main unwavering literary principles.

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[8] On Berenson's relationship with Leo Stein, see Gary Tinterow and Marci Kwon, "Leo Stein before 1914," in *The Steins Collect: Matisse, Picasso, and the Parisian Avant-Garde*, ed. Janet Bishop et al., exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 26–51.

[9] William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1890). Her denial of this influence can be found in Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933), reprinted in Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, in *Writings 1903–1932*, ed. Harriet Chessman and Catherine Stimpson (New York: Penguin, 1998), 738 and ff. See also Lisa Ruddick, "William James and the Modernism of Gertrude Stein," in *Modernism Reconsidered*, ed. Robert Kiely and John Hildebidle (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 47–63.

[10] James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2:468.

“1906” Identity

Picasso’s poor memory left its mark on another matter: his mistaken recollection led Christian Zervos to date some of his 1906 works to 1905.[11] When Pierre Daix corrected this mistake years later, the creation of a new catalogue of dates and works led him to this conclusion: 1906 was “l’année du grand tournant” for Picasso, that is, the watershed year, the great inflection point in the life and work of the artist.[12]

The “Picasso 1906” project looks to pick up on this intuition about Picasso and the year 1906. Put another way: I wish to argue here that 1906 exists as its own entity in Picasso’s trajectory as an artist, and that it can be understood as a period or specific stage in the intense and extensive development of Picasso’s work. Until now, 1906 has been seen as an epilogue to what is known as the Rose Period or as a prologue to *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*. And although in Picasso all things flow together and converge, it is in fact neither epilogue nor prologue. This is instead Picasso’s first contribution to a full-fledged notion of modern art.

The Rose Period label is now deeply entrenched, but the reach and definition of that “period” is called into question every time we return to what is conventionally called “young Picasso.” There is the brief time in Holland in 1905. There are the works that are considered classical, so different in their language and conceit from the mannerist harlequins and acrobats, suggesting a peculiar relationship with androgyny,[13] gender slippages,[14] and, to some extent, esotericism.[15] There can be no doubt that with a series dedicated to *The Death of Harlequin* Picasso was placing a full stop at the end of this work. There is a sketch from this series signed and dated 1906, although it seems that it could have been added later, and so it would not be incorrect to consider the entire series as belonging to late 1905. The harlequin, the artist’s alter ego and a hugely important signifier in all of his work, would soon return, in the early years of Cubism, and it would later reappear as a powerful motif during the interwar period and in work that intertwined with Surrealism. But, for all of 1906, the harlequin and acrobat disappear. A disappearance that is a meaningful sign. In 1906, Picasso is no longer interested in the harlequin as metaphor. A new moment is beginning.

Something new happened when, in early 1906, Picasso created the two series *The Watering Place* and *Boy Leading a Horse*. The theme of *The Water Place*, evoking an austere but meaningful arcadia, represents a complete change—the emergence of a vitalist, “solar” Picasso. Various authors have interpreted this shift in numerous ways.[16] However, it is clear that this turn is centered on the nude, on youth, and on the body.

But while the point of departure for the “1906 period” seems clear, it is harder to pinpoint when the poetics sketched out at the beginning of that year fade away or change. We need not turn to Paul Ricoeur and his theory of narrative to understand that everything that has been said of the 1906 Picasso to the present day, by a wide range of authors, has been in thrall to (I would even say abducted by) the "event" of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.[17] And another, no less powerful, narrative has been attached to this one: the view of Picasso's stay in the Catalan mountain village of Gósol, in the province of Lleida, between late May and mid-August of that year, as a significant "moment" in the artist's development.[18] Most of the authors who have tackled this topic see in his time in Gósol—and not in 1906 as a whole—the revelation of the birth of modernity in Picasso. I myself have participated in this narrative in the past.[19] But I would like to suggest that it is a sort of hypostasis. Or, at least, it mistakes the part for the whole. I now believe that Picasso's development in 1906 is what is truly complex, and his stay in Gósol is *part* of that evolution, even if it is an intensely productive and revelatory part.

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[11] Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 1: *Œuvres de 1895 à 1906* (Paris: Cahiers d’Art, 1932).

[12] Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906. Catalogue raisonné de l’œuvre peint. Catalogue établi avec la collaboration de Joan Rosselet* (Lausanne: Ides et Calendes, 1966), 87; Eng.: *Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods; A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, 1900–1906* (London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay Ltd., 1967).

[13] See Hans Christoph von Tavel, “Man and Woman in Picasso’s Work in 1905 and 1906,” in *Picasso 1905–1906: From the Rose Period to the Ochres of Gósol*, ed. María Teresa Ocaña and Hans Christoph von Tavel, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Electa, 1992), 89–96. On androgyny and modern art, see Estrella de Diego, *El andrógino sexuado. Eternos ideales, nuevas estrategias de género* (Madrid: Visor, 1992).

[14] Eugenio Carmona Mato, “Masculino Picasso Femenino” (unpublished), presented at the conference “Picasso y las imágenes,” organized by Carlos Ferrer Barrera, UNIA, July 8–11, 2019; Carmona Mato, inauguration speech as a member academic of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Telmo, Málaga, 2022.

[15] Marijo Ariëns-Volker, *Picasso et l’occultisme à Paris. Aux origines des Demoiselles d’Avignon* (Brussels: Marot, 2016).

[16] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., ed., *Picasso: Forty Years of His Art; With Two Statements by the Artist* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1939), 53; Anthony Blunt and Phoebe Pool, *Picasso, the Formative Years: A Study of His Sources* (London: Studio Books, 1962), ills. 164–66; Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906*, 91; Marilyn McCully, “Picasso and Mediterranean Classicism in 1906,” in *Picasso clásico*, ed. Gary Tinterow (Málaga and Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1992), 69–91; Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 131–52.

When Douglas Cooper published the so-called *Catalan Carnet* in 1957, it seemed that Picasso's stay in Gósol would pique particular interest. There was no real change, however, until Daix and Joan Rosselet established a new chronology of works.[20] And even still, it is surprising that there was no monograph on the subject until Jèssica Jaques Pi's well-documented and revelatory book was published in 2007.[21] In the meantime, Gósol was an important reference point in catalogues raisonnés like Palau's and in exhibitions focused on the young Picasso. In one way or another, the "blue" Picasso was shown to be followed by the "rose" Picasso, which was followed by the "Gósol Picasso," with a segue directly to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, or to Cubism. This arrangement or narrative has persisted to this day. The construction of moments or periods in Picasso's development detects the existence of something between the "rose" Picasso and the Picasso of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, but that something is linked to Gósol and not to "1906" as a whole. There is no indication of the discontinuities, ruptures, and jumps in the artist's work during the long months between August 15 or 16, 1906, when Picasso and Fernande returned from Gósol to Paris, and February 1907, when he made the first set of sketches for *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.[22] Nearly eight months. Eight months that contain the second part of the Picasso of 1906.

It is true that Picasso's experience in Gósol was a milestone. The work created during the weeks he spent there was prodigious, diverse, and complex. In it we can find everything from immediate allusions to the rural setting to the beginnings of a questioning of the regime of figurative representation Picasso had inherited, and of the very notion of the painting itself. Picasso's ability to experiment with visual language becomes clear, while he continued to incorporate latent references to classical myth in what has been called "paraphrases." His relationship to "primitive art" was more complex in Gósol than many believe. Picasso also engaged in dialogue with art history and with some of his contemporaries. Those who appreciate his work tend to be admirers of his time in Gósol and to mythologize it. The Gauguinesque image of the demiurge-like artist who withdraws to a secluded place to create new formulas for art is highly suggestive, and perhaps relatively accurate. Gósol was filled with smugglers of contraband. Picasso awaited the presence of Enric Casanovas and never lost contact with Apollinaire. Fernande complained that she was not receiving the North American comics that the Steins were sending her.[23]

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[17] Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[18] For specific details on everything about this subject, see Jèssica Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol, 1906: un verano para la modernidad* (Madrid: A. Machado Libros, 2007).

[19] Eugenio Carmona Mato, "De Gósol al Cubismo" (unpublished), presented at the conference "Gósol: el prólogo de la vanguardia," organized by María Teresa Ocaña, Museu Picasso de Barcelona, July 11–12, 2006.

[20] Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906*, 276–332.

[21] Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol.*

[22] Hélène Seckel, ed., *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* vol. 1, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988).

Without a doubt, we can conceive of Gósol as marking a before and after, but it is also fitting, and appropriate to art criticism, to keep in mind the many powerful continuities, relationships, and divergences that make it necessary to view 1906 as a dynamic whole. Some examples. Picasso began the portrait *Gertrude Stein* [p. 219], which so marked that year, before Gósol and finished it after. Picasso's "young men"—which say so many unexpected things about him—are from 1905 and began to develop in Paris, reached their height in Gósol, and appeared for the last time, again in Paris, transformed. While in his first Parisian period Picasso delved into the relationship between the nude and nature, in Gósol, where the natural world was undoubtedly more present, the nude paintings of boys, adolescents, and girls are always situated in an interior space that seems much more like a constructed setting than an allusion to a locality. This shows how Picasso sometimes embraced the local context of Gósol and at other times distanced himself from it. In a work that is emblematic of Gósol, *Two Youths*, now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, he seems to establish a particular relationship between the nude and the rural interior space. Yet it is a conventional, not vernacular, interior, and the work could also be read as part of the artist's wish to allude to the nude youths he created during his own formative period. The seated boy in *Two Youths* appears to be a replica of *Naked Gypsy Boy, Seated*, painted in Horta de Ebro in 1898, rather than a reference to *Boy with Thorn*, a well-known sculpture from the first century BCE. And the standing boy appears to recreate *The Model* [p. 117], from 1896, held by Fundació Palau, rather than evoking the kouroi figures as is often thought.[24]

In the series *La Toilette*, there are also some interesting translations. The content is full of deep narrative echoes, but it follows the same path through three periods, culminating in the final Parisian period with its ties to the mask as a semantic feature. Picasso embraced the Romanesque in Gósol, but the linguistic transcription of it in his works did not take place until he returned to Paris. The rereading of El Greco, sometimes through

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[23] Leonard Folgarait, *Painting 1909: Pablo Picasso, Gertrude Stein, Henri Bergson, Comics, Albert Einstein, and Anarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

[24] For the two nineteenth-century works cited, see Josep Palau i Fabre, *Pablo Picasso: Academic and Anti-Academic (1895–1900)* (New York: Yoshii Gallery, 1996). For more on this subject, see Natasha Staller, "Gods of Art: Picasso's Academic Education and Its Legacy," in *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*, ed. Marilyn McCully, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 67–85.

Cézanne, was key in several crucial works from Gósol. But Picasso created a version in Gósol *and* a version in Paris of one such work in which this influence is particularly clear: *Composition: The Peasants*. He worked with specific models in Gósol: one called Herminia, possibly the daughter of the local innkeeper,[25] and particularly the elderly Fondevila. What Picasso achieved with Fondevila's features on a formal level, in addition to the ideological connotations it has, is one of the major landmarks in the establishment of modernity. But Picasso took full advantage of the radical possibilities of Fondevila as iconotype, again, when he returned to Paris.[26] The adolescents and young boys in the Gósol works appear to be inventions rather than faithful representations of local models, and they also resemble the boys of his 1905 production. Picasso worked especially with the image that historians and biographers associate with Fernande, the "nude" of Fernande. It is evident that that iconotype peaks in Gósol in terms of its artistic and visual permeations, but that does not mean it was not important before and after Gósol. We could go on. Historiography has created a Gósol period. And now I believe it is time for a "1906" period.

What can be understood as "1906" in Picasso would include an initial stage between late January and late May. This is nearly five months, which, given Picasso's levels of production, is a long time. Between approximately May 28 and August 15 or 16, Picasso was with Fernande in Gósol. Nearly ten weeks. In the third stage of the process, Picasso would work in Paris again without moving to a new residence. But, as has been suggested, this stage extended into 1907, colliding and overlapping with—or mixing and blending with—the work leading up to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. When the exemplary 1988 exhibition on *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* took place,[27] it included sixteen sketchbooks (or *carnets* or albums) of work, which it framed as representing Picasso's process in creating the work. It was a logical proposition, although one based on a teleological gaze that *Les Demoiselles* provokes. In actuality, *Carnet 1* (MPP 1858) is from fall 1906 and is part of the work of "1906." *Carnet 2* (MPP 1859) was dated winter 1906–07 and contains some sketches of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, but most of its sketches are still of Picasso's "1906" work, which brings "1906" into 1907. Picasso's evolutionary periods always overlapped in moments of transition. *Carnet 3* (MPP 1861) has been dated March 1907, and so it marks an outer limit. Although in *Carnet 5* we will still find derivations of Picasso's 1906 work.[28] As a result, we can see that Picasso's "1906 period" extended from January or February of that year to late February or early March 1907.

The difficulty lies in how to draw a line, if one exists, between Picasso's "1906" work upon returning to Paris from Gósol and the creative process of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, which was lengthy and, again, complex. When Picasso drew, painted, modeled, or sculpted in 1906, he was not thinking about *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, and therefore the 1906 works cannot be considered in light of the categories that *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* proposes.

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[25] Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol*, 163–66.

[26] Ibid., 177–81.

[27] Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.

[28] Brigitte Leal, "Carnets," in Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, 101–308. See also Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher, eds., *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso*, exh. cat. (New York: The Pace Gallery, 1986).

Still, two of Picasso's Gósol works are generally considered clear thematic forerunners of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. One is *Three Nudes*, and the other is the work known as *The Harem* [p. 147]. The former is housed today at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the latter in the Cleveland Museum of Art. In fact, prostitution as a theme is present in Picasso's work as early as 1901, if not earlier. And it was a recurring motif in the work of painters who were reference points for Picasso. *Three Nudes* contained the kernel of his intentions. The work is striking today for its unexpected verbal-visual aspect, as it contains writing, and for its figurative sense, which reminds us of a certain sort of painting that emerged after the crisis of the late 1970s. The *porrón* and the still life alluded to in one of the texts tie it to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*: it is not a question of denying these possible connections, but of understanding that the figurative schemes of the two paintings are very different. The two works are also very different in nature. *Three Nudes* has a playful tone very much in contrast to the aggressive, dramatic tone of *Les Demoiselles*. *The Harem*, meanwhile, while also alluding like *Les Demoiselles* to Ingres's *Turkish Bath*, is a masculine daydream, saturated by a scopic drive and the result, in part, of private jokes between Picasso and Apollinaire. If we look closely at Picasso's creative process, the figurative scheme in his work is almost in competition with Fauvism and does not have the structural rigidity of *Les Demoiselles*. In terms of psychology and perception, *The Harem* and *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* are two opposing works. The gaze relates to the two works in diametrically opposed ways. The viewer is horrified by Medusa's eyes in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, while in looking at *The Harem* the distance imposed by the filter of contemplation is uninterrupted. In the very prototypical patriarchal framing of the work, that distance allows the spectator to take pleasure in the painter's loose, agile technique and the arabesque sensuality of a single, repeated female body revealing her intimacy. The viewer can appreciate the literary weight of the work with its strange masculine figure lacking a phallic imperiousness, and the sketch of the cruel, ugly procurer that evokes La Celestina, and above all the *castizo* still life, with which Picasso mocks any pretention of sophistication in a brothel setting.

Even today, when consulting catalogues and websites, you can find masterworks created by Picasso in Gósol or in the second half of 1906 that are associated with his Rose Period. When they are assigned to that period, they are defined and confined to a certain core of meaning—even when we can easily note truly divergent, if not opposite, qualities in a lyrical, androgynous Parisian harlequin and a naked body from Gósol. Narratives are never innocent. There is something at stake in each approach to talking about Picasso and in each way of categorizing his work.

Everything that is said about the Picasso of 1906 points, tacitly or explicitly, to two registers: the body and culture. The body as an entity put forth by the imagination that becomes the protagonist of his works through the nude figure. Culture as an exploration of dynamic, changing identities. Modern art defined itself as being interested in "the other."

Transculturality and Artistic Experience

Here we can return to Fernande and her comments about a young Picasso, not yet twenty-five. To recapitulate: Picasso received visitors in the nude, or nearly nude. He delighted in his own fine limbs and features. His small hands. His Andalusian feet. Or Andalusian hands and feet? He was quite proud of them. As he was of the fine line of his legs. And his robust stature, despite "those few inches, which would have given ideal proportions to his body."[29] Readers who sense a double entendre in Fernande's words are likely not mistaken. Such was her refined sense of humor.

The nudism practiced by Picasso and his friends might seem to be a case of young people playing around. But it is not only that, and it may be much more than that. It is not merely an anecdote. Although it took place within the four walls of his home workshop, which may seem to belong to the private sphere, this nudity was a social action with ideological weight. Let us recall the creation of Monte Verità, the origin of the contemporary cultural naturist movement. And let us recall, above all, the expansion of nudism in relation to the libertarian movement.[30] Although Picasso's relationship with the social expansion of anarchist thought has been skillfully traced by Patricia Leighten, it would be ideal if we knew more about his intellectual (or experiential) relationship with nudism and "free love."[31] This would give us a number of keys to understanding the Picasso of 1906 and would allow us a different perspective on this artist who tends to be judged according to the criteria of conventional middle-class morality that developed after World War II. Neither Matisse nor André Derain experienced the definition of modern art in the same context as Picasso, who was surrounded by a libertarian atmosphere. The nude boys and girls produced by Picasso in 1906 are not entirely unmarked by roles determined by patriarchal society, but there is something "dissident" in them, which perhaps stems from the winds of libertarianism and alterity that circulated around this still young Picasso who, as Fernande would put it, became a different and altogether nicer person in Gósol.[32] For Picasso, being nude was a symptom: for him aesthetic change required a shift in mentality.

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[29] Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, 44; Eng.: 48.

[30] See, among others, Andreas Schwab and Claudia Lanfranchi, eds., *Sinnsuche und Sonnenbad. Experimente in Kunst und Leben auf dem Monte Verità* (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 2001); Arnaud Baubérot, *Histoire du naturisme. Le mythe du retour à la nature* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004); Richard Cleminson, "Making Sense of the Body: Anarchism, Nudism and Subjective Experience," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, no. 6 (2004): 697–716.

[31] Patricia Leighten, *Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Leighten, "The White Peril: Colonialism, *l'art nègre*, and *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*," in *Picasso's Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, ed. Christopher Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 77–103; Leighten, *The Liberation of Painting: Modernism and Anarchism in Avant-Guerre Paris* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2013).

What started as a discussion of the nude has become a discussion of the body. Carlos Reyero has pointed out that in speaking of nineteenth-century painting, we generally discuss "nudes," while with the start of the twentieth century, we discuss "the body."[33] This semantic turn is difficult to pinpoint, but it lies within the conceptual shift that Picasso undertakes in 1906. The nude alludes to artistic genres established in the seventeenth century. The body is a materialist and contemporary concept. The nude is a codified iconographic dynamic. The body has to do with the definition of the subject and its relationship to itself and the world. To paint a nude is to converse with art history. To paint a body is to call forth the political, that is to say social, presence of subjectivity.

Nude, body, and something else. Returning to Fernande's remarks, there is something that may make us smile and that seems to have been said in jest, but that I propose we take very seriously. Fernande says that Picasso has "Andalusian feet," of which, moreover, he was quite proud. The original phrasing is somewhat syntactically ambiguous, and so we do not know if she was saying that he had "Andalusian feet" or "Andalusian hands and feet." In either case, I, even being Andalusian, am not able to comprehend what Andalusian feet might be. Or Andalusian hands. But there is the temptation to make a point with this brief, witty remark. While attempting to exercise restraint, it is still impossible not to pose the question: Were Picasso's Andalusian hands and feet a metaphor tying the artist to his roots, his place of origin? Do the artist's feet not ground him in place on the earth, and do his hands not grasp the tools of his trade? In any case, Fernande is referring to a time related to Picasso's body and to his "mother tongue," to his origin. Body and culture. Today, this dialectic is at the core of our historical progress, and it must also be at the center of our understanding of Picasso in 1906.[34]

But let us be clear. The emancipation of what has been, until now, subordinated in our understanding of Picasso, the reclaiming of the vernacular in his artistic being—that is, the active presence of Picasso's mother tongue in 1906—is not, or is not intended to be, simply a pronouncement based on chauvinistic, provincial bias. On the contrary: it responds to the need to situate Picasso's "transculturality" as a key feature of his artistic self at the moment when he was devising his first definition of modern art.

I am not using *transculturality* as it is used today in anthropology or cultural sociology, although my usage is similar.[35] What I will call *transculturality* emerges from the study of cultural migrations in groups and societies forced to leave their places of origin, to then examine specific subjectivities of those who have been displaced linguistically, geographically, and culturally in pursuit of an entirely contemporary artistic truth that they cannot renounce. Transculturality in Picasso will also have to do with his use of originary, "primitivist," and non-European cultural referents, and even to do with how he understood *Nachleben* or *après-coup* in art history.

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[32] Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, 32; Eng.: 94–95.

[33] Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, *Apariencia e identidad masculina* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996); Reyero Hermosilla, *Desvestidas: el cuerpo y la forma real* (Madrid, Alianza, 2009).

[34] Eugenio Carmona Mato, "Picasso: pulsión vernacular y devenir histórico," in *Picasso e Historia*, ed. José Lebrero Stals and Pepe Karmel (Madrid: A. Machado Libros; Málaga: Fundación Museo Picasso Málaga, 2021).

[35] Fernando Ortiz Fernández, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002); Ugo Manzini, "Multiculturalidad, interculturalidad: conceptos y estrategias," paper presented at the Università di Bologna, 2001.

Picasso's transculturality in 1906 is of interest here for how it affects his biography and the formation of his subjectivity. In 1906, the Picasso who maintained a strong echo of his vernacular specificities was also very much "el Pau de Gósol," that is, he was also the person and artist who copied verses by Joan Maragall in his notebooks and who spoke, read, and wrote in Catalan, something he had in fact been doing since the turn of the century as an adolescent. Which is not at all surprising for an Andalusian boy who emigrated to Barcelona. The young Picasso who never abandoned his Andalusian "mother tongue" while in Horta, in Gósol, and somewhat later in Cadaqués, came to be identified with the most deeply rooted, the most genuine we might say, of the customs, nature, and artistic forms of a Catalonia that seemed to be frozen in time compared to an already metropolitan Barcelona. In spring of 1906, before going to Gósol, when Picasso, having sold part of his work to Vollard, traveled with Fernande to Barcelona, he encountered upon his arrival a hugely significant Catalanist street protest.[36] There is much to say about how Picasso subjectively engaged with politics, but the event must have had an impact on him. That same year, Josep Carner published *Els fruits saborosos* and Joaquín Torres García had already begun to develop a structural conception of classical art, emphasizing its Mediterranean qualities.[37] What we now call Noucentisme was emerging, and, for a short time, it seemed to align with Picasso's work.[38] In Gósol, El Greco and "primitivism" would immediately lead him down a different path.

In any case, we have the young Picasso who lives on in his mother tongue—understood as a cultural identity—who has become a young Barcelonan artist and a Catalanized adult. This Picasso of two cultures began traveling to Paris starting in 1900. When he returned to Barcelona in 1906, he carried with him a whole set of transformative relationships and experiences from Paris. This might seem commonplace for any turn-of-the-century artist, but for Picasso it meant a layer of new referents in his cultural migration and transculturality.

Matisse was an organic part of the development of what we could call "French culture." Picasso was not. When Matisse, synthesizing and moving beyond fin de siècle concepts, paved the way for the avant-garde, he did so without feeling estranged from his own cultural framework. Picasso

[36] Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso: The Private Journal of Fernande Olivier*, trans. Christine Baker and Michael Raeburn (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 180–81.

[37] Josep Palau i Fabre, "The Gold of Gósol," in Ocaña and von Tavel, *Picasso 1905–1906*, 75–88.

[38] Mercè Vidal, "Picasso i l'arcaisme mediterrà: el substrat de Gósol el 1906," *Matèria. Revista d'art*, no. 5 (2005): 105–28.

did not. When he made the definitive move to Paris, Picasso established himself in "two places": Paris as the French capital, and Paris as the center of the avant-garde. This means that with this definitive move to Paris, which was in fact a process that began in 1904 and culminated in 1906, he had to acclimate to two cultures. He had to absorb two cultures. And in the face of those cultures, like all migrants, he found himself at a crossroads: either he could make his culture of origin "transparent," that is, becoming acculturated and mimetically assimilating to the paradigms of his new context, or he could put up "resistance," even if assimilation was inevitable in the long run. Picasso chose the second path. And that was key in defining himself as an artist and in the construction of his subjectivity—although we do not always keep this in mind when we speak of the young Picasso. When, in early 1906, he took a transformative turn in his artistic production, he had built up quite a bit of work in Paris. This brings us back to Fernande and her choice of a word to describe Picasso: *désaxé*. Picasso was disruptive. Picasso was out of place because he was in a constant process of transculturation.

This was not just a question of taking on influences in Paris as the capital of French culture and of the avant-garde. If Leo Stein had not fallen in love with Picasso's virtuosic drawing, and if the artist's encounter with Gertrude had not struck him so, Picasso would not have become Picasso. The number of his relationships shrank, and they became highly competitive. The Steins became another cultural area to explore—one made up of North American intellectuals and collectors who were nomads and expatriates. Matisse was under the wing of the Steins, but the relationship between Pablo and Gertrude was unique. Picasso could only absorb the cultural adjustment that the Steins required by considering it in terms of gender. Gertrude recalled this, via Alice B. Toklas, citing Picasso as having said, "They are not men, they are not women, they are Americans."[39]

Alterity and Modernity

Tying the concept of transculturality into Picasso's biography has brought us to Gertrude Stein and questions of gender. The poetics of the body in twenty-five-year-old Picasso brings us to culture as a projection of the subject; culture as a projection of the subject brings us to the *désaxé*, migrant Picasso; and this out-of-place Picasso brings into view the concept of "alterity," or otherness. This concept of alterity moves from life experience to become a shaping force behind aesthetic positions.

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[39] Cited in French in the original: "Ils sont pas des hommes, ils sont pas des femmes, ils sont des américains." Stein, "The Autobiography," 710.

Something happened in the 1990s. In 1996, John Richardson published the second volume of *A Life of Picasso*, covering the period between 1907 and 1917.[40] Linda Nochlin, writing on the book's release in the *London Review of Books*, was ambivalent.[41] She was surprised that Richardson considered Gertrude Stein overrated as a writer and intellectual and only viewed her as important in Picasso's life as a friend and patron. On the other hand, she also comments: "Nor, previously, had I realised how omnipresent homosexuals were in and around Picasso's entourage."[42] What is behind Nochlin's comment? We might be tempted to think that she makes this remark because she believes this fact could shake the heteronormative pillars that seem to hold Picasso up as a persona and as an artist. Which may well be. But Nochlin likely knew—and if she did not, she had only to read Gregorio Marañón's *Don Juan*—that markedly heterodetermined (and heterodeterminant) personalities and environments also indicate a homosexual presence, in a dialectic with what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has termed "homosociality."[43] This is something that Freud already picked up on in 1905, very near the date that is of interest to us, in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*.

Nochlin notes something in Richardson's text that any reader interested in Picasso or modern art would also be inclined to notice. But Nochlin knew to point out something that in the 1990s it was necessary to call attention to. And it is decisive for encountering and identifying the Picasso of 1906. Because if historical information tying Picasso culturally and experientially to homosexuality is important in volume 2 of Richardson's book, it is even more important in volume 1, published in 1991, which closes with an extensive recounting of key aspects from 1906.[44] Richardson's comments and the information he included were received in a changing context where outlooks were shifting. The Picassoan episteme was not ready to receive this sort of suggestion, but the change was both imminent and necessary.

In 1992, in the catalogue accompanying the decisive *Picasso 1905–1906* exhibit, Hans Christoph von Tavel surprised readers with a text that included Apollinaire's earliest critiques of Picasso.[45] Von Tavel underscored one of his remarks about the "blue" Picasso: "These impuberate adolescents reveal the restless searching of innocence, the animals show them the mystery of the religious. The Harlequins accompany the glory of women, resemble them; they are neither men nor women." Von Tavel added his own reflection: "If we consider all the sources and analyse all the works from this period, we reach the conclusion that the members of Picasso's circle of friends at the time practiced and suffered from homosexual and heterosexual love in a thoroughly disconcerting network of relationships." He went on, setting up his argument:

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[40] John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2: *1907–1917: The Painter of Modern Life* (New York: Random House, 1996).

[41] Linda Nochlin, "The Vanishing Brothel," *London Review of Books* 19, no. 5 (1997): 3–5.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

[44] John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 1: *1881–1906* (New York: Random House, 1991).

[45] von Tavel, "Man and Woman in Picasso's Work," 91, 92.

> The transition from the blue to the rose periods took place in this context where different people appear always in a different light, which provoked changing feelings among his friends of the same and the opposite sex. It was at this time that the ideal image of the androgynous Harlequin appeared, as well as the harmonious coexistence between the different generations, sexes and animals in the artist's family. Picasso saw no other possibility to represent people freed from sexual passions than by placing them on the fringe of social reality, in the world of the circus. The model he needed was provided by the nearby Cirque Médrano and the cabarets of Montmartre.[46]

Apollinaire's relationship—and, by extension, Picasso's and Max Jacob's—with the occult, the Rosicrucians, and Sâr Péladan might be behind the androgynous beauty Picasso puts forward in his works. But these androgynous youths, harlequins, and acrobats of 1905, at the height of the Rose Period, are going to transform into the young "arcadians" of 1906, with the same masculine-feminine fluidity in their erotic appeal. It is also worth noting that the first sketches and watercolors in which Picasso depicts his joyous intimate life with Fernande are from 1904. But so too are the delicate, suggestive works on paper in which he depicts lesbian scenes.

In 1997, Robert Lubar was the first to associate the term *queer* and the accompanying academic concept with Picasso's work in his interesting analysis of the portrait *Gertrude Stein*, while also referring to the 1906 representations of adolescents as homoerotic.[47] Also in 1997, Robert Rosenblum linked Picasso's youths in Gósol with the well-known homoerotic photography of Wilhelm von Gloeden,[48] and, in the same year, Margaret Werth began to speak of something similar to gender performativity in relation to the body and the nude in the Picasso of 1906.[49] Things stopped there. The topic came back and was reworked in 2006 at the international seminar "Gósol: el prólogo de la vanguardia" (Gósol: The Prologue to the Avant-Garde), held at the Museu Picasso in Barcelona. Gender performativity in Picasso as a part of the artist's identity made its way into my work in my study of what have been called the *Peintures magiques*[50] and upon detecting the specific keys to understanding the intense sketchbook known as *Carnet 7* [p. 208].[51]

All of this matters when it comes to contextualizing the complexity of the Picasso of 1906. But it must be understood correctly: The idea is not a momentaneous, surprising expansion of the sexual space in Picasso, although this is something that several authors have proposed. It is not about adding yet another volume to the vast accounts of his sexual adventures. Some of Picasso's paintings from 1905 might strike us today as in fact having a gay sensibility. Some of his 1906 nudes of adolescent boys might in fact seem homoerotic. The difference, and it is a substantial one, is that the former emphasize decadent melancholy as a value, and the latter project gender performativity as a way of exalting vitality and rebirth.

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[46] Ibid., 92.

[47] Robert Lubar, "Unmasking Pablo's Gertrude: Queer Desire and the Subject of Portraiture," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (1997): 57–84.

[48] Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso in Gósol: The Calm Before the Storm," in McCully, *Picasso: The Early Years*, 272–73.

[49] Margaret Werth, "Representing the Body in 1906," in McCully, *Picasso: The Early Years*, 277–87.

[50] Eugenio Carmona, "Picasso y Medusa," in *Picasso*, ed. María Dolores Jiménez Blanco and Guillermo Solana (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE, 2002), 113–46.

[51] Eugenio Carmona, "Cahier de dessins appartenant à Monsieur Picasso," in *Picasso y la escultura africana. Los orígenes de Las Señoritas de Avignon*, exh. cat. (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Artemisa Ediciones/Colodión, 2010), 21–92.

Even so, this connection is risky. The gaze only recognizes what it already knows, and the homoeroticism we perceive in some of Picasso's figures, especially the male figures, could have been bestowed by the artist himself, but it could also be imposed by the gaze of today's viewer. Richard Leppert, who has studied painted nudes, in remarking on the representations of boys in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "moral painting," alludes to images that might leave us perplexed.[52] For example, Jean-Baptiste Greuze's *Innocence*, created around 1790, which at the time was seen as the epitome of its title, might seem today to be uncomfortably eroticized, even provocative. It is true we live in a post-psychoanalytic era. We have learned to distinguish between appearances and truth. We are aware of the power of the unconscious and the repressive power of heteropatriarchal society. And we could argue that images like this one deceived others and deceived themselves. But, when examining them within the parameters of art history, we must probe the meaning they meant to have and not only what they communicate to us in the present.

We should not toss aside the homoeroticism present in Picasso's 1906 works. But the issue at hand is very much a separate one. It is a question of recognizing, through Picasso, the importance of homosexual creators and intellectuals in the formation of the first full-fledged artistic modernity. And not only recognizing their importance but also the unique, differentiating aspect that—explicitly or implicitly—they contributed. The heteropatriarchal gaze tends to obscure this distinguishing contribution or assign it a secondary role. But now we must recognize that alterity played an essential role in the founding of modernity. Without going beyond the year 1906, Max Jacob and Gertrude Stein were fundamental for Picasso. Picasso would not have been Picasso without them. It is true that Apollinaire and André Salmon were as well. We have before us a set of referents and balances, not an overdetermined assessment of a certain type of relationship. Zervos recounted in the aforementioned biography that Picasso and Max Jacob—the former being extremely poor and Jacob with barely any income—shared a shabby bed, with an alternating sleeping schedule.[53] There was no problem with that. The heteronormative outlook on Picasso, and on all avant-garde art, does not allow any fact to contradict "what is correct." Today we might consider how one or the other would have perceived the warm imprint left in the mattress. In Picasso's time things were not seen that way. Or people did not wish to see them that way. In any case, Max Jacob introduced Picasso to the post-Symbolist movement and, as a result, to the very latest in creative work. It was a serious debt. Patrick Dubuis has studied the complexity of

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[52] Richard D. Leppert, *The Nude: The Cultural Rhetoric of the Body in the Art of Western Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[53] Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, 1:32.

Jacob's embrace of homosexuality.[54] Despite Jacob's ambivalent position, Picasso was not unfamiliar with homosexuality. Gertrude Stein has been a presence in this text since the first paragraphs and is an important protagonist in all accounts of the 1906 Picasso. Her identity, and that of some of her well-off female friends, was a clear and inescapable fact.[55] Some scholars, reading Fernande's memoirs, have noted a particularly sensitive relationship between her and Gertrude. All of this is another territory that Picasso's process of transculturation had to absorb. Without the impact of his early relationship with homosexuality, the first definition of modern art in Picasso would have been different. And it did not unfold in the same way in Matisse or in Derain.

The poetry written by some of Picasso's friends, while anti-sentimental, was still, in a way, declamatory and based on traditional rhetoric. Max Jacob and Gertrude Stein, on the other hand, were always concerned with the texture of linguistic expression and with the insufficiency of language. They addressed this with a sense of humor and understood it as a game, in the most powerful aesthetic sense of the word. It is as if their very experience of alterity had placed them in this position. I will not address how their biographies would unfold; I pause here in 1906 with the transference of subjectivities between the two of them and Picasso.

Picasso at twenty-five, the nude, *désaxé*, migrant artist, the subject who moved between and absorbed cultures, incorporated into his transculturality a latent sense of alterity that the other founders of the avant-garde did not have. His first definition of modern art was permeated by this context. Even his relationship with the traces left by the history of art and with "primitive art" can be understood as aspects of his transculturality.

A New Golden Age, New Painting

Two Youths [pp. 33, 125] conceals its sign system. There are various elements in play: two figures, one appears to be male and the other female; an arabesque; significant foreshortening; two eyes bathed in paint; a *profil perdu*; someone with their back to us, a pitcher balanced on their head. And a chaogenic background that tricks us with its plenitude into seeing it as emptiness.

This was not Picasso's first use of an aniconic background; they appear as early as 1900. It can be understood as a tacit homage to Velázquez and Manet. But in Picasso, these backgrounds are a signifier awaiting its signified. They create a climax and a meaning that vary according to the poetics they are a part of. During the Blue Period, they are the abyss of melancholy. Now, in 1906, we sense that the active magma of

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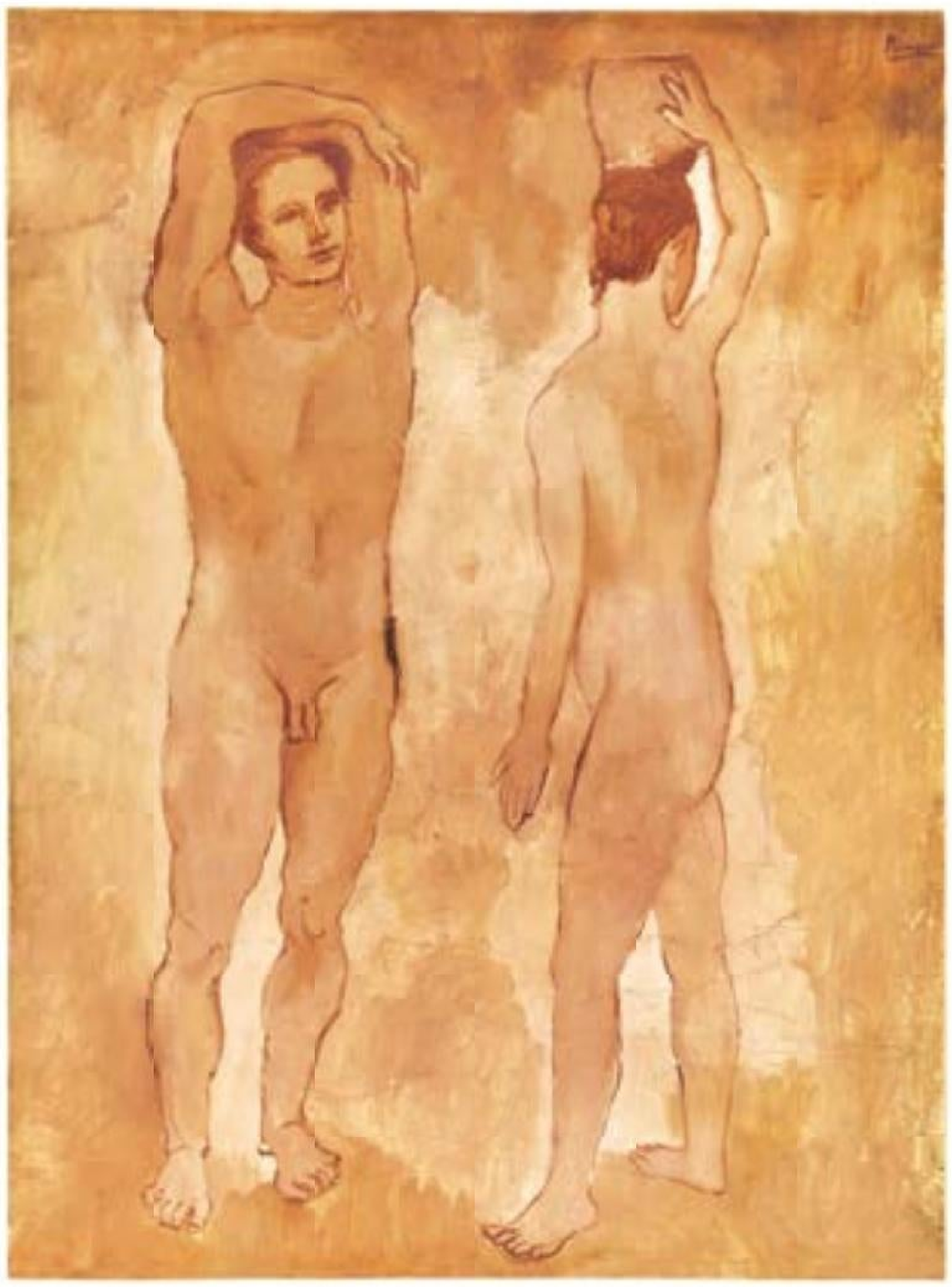
[54] Patrick Dubuis, *Émergence de l'homosexualité dans la littérature française d'André Gide à Jean Genet* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 2011).

[55] Vincent Giroud, *Picasso and Gertrude Stein* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007). For a current approach to this topic, see Chris Coffman, *Gertrude Stein's Transmasculinity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).



Les Adolescents
(Two Youths)
1906

Unknown Author
Narcissus
3rd century CE

pinks, reds, ochres, and whites in *Two Youths* signifies life. The chromatic mass recalls D. W. Winnicott's concept of *formlessness*.[56] For Winnicott, formlessness in the subject has to do with the sensation of the originary. Which is a good metaphor for the pictorial surface in the *Two Youths* held at the Musée de l'Orangerie.

The virtuosic arabesque outlining the boy's body captures a fascinating foreshortening, the drawing of which allows us to see it as a blot on the canvas. I believe that Picasso here was competing with the Fauves, even if his sense of mimesis is much closer to the faithfulness of sight. But in *Two Youths*, the monochromatic relationship between background and figure suggests something else. It is an allegory, certainly, of the boy's encounter with the telluric, the earthly, but it also serves to infringe on and suggest alternatives to the visual order created in the Quattrocento.[57] The identical, isomorphic nature of background and figure foreshadows one of the key principles of Cubism in its compression of the canvas as a unit. Cubism's integration of background and figure is germinating in *Two Youths*, just as it is in *Nude with Joined Hands* [pp. 65, 207] at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York.

This makes *Two Youths* a special work. Picasso's aspirations for modernity arc through it. Its merit, however, does not lie in its anticipation of Cubism, but in containing Picasso's first definition of modern art. In many of his 1906 compositions, Picasso created a gradation of intensity in the relation between background and figure. Sometimes the settings were more eloquent or narrative in describing a certain context. In *Two Youths* there is only painting. This is something Cézanne had been working on until achieving a balance that maintained the unity of the surface of the painted canvas. But Picasso, whose virtuosic skill was drawing, resisted. In the beautiful, enigmatic work *Demi-nu à la cruche* (Half-Nude with a Pitcher) [p. 135], he found a solution: a cloud of white glaze equates the background with the figure, and he grants force to the trace as a visual element in the powerful shape of the *profil perdu*, a partial profile with the head turned away from the viewer. Picasso's use of the *profil perdu* is difficult to pin down, although it reappears in other works. It was a style used by Piero della Francesca and Masaccio, as well as by Albrecht Dürer, whom Picasso looked at carefully in 1906. Ingres's use of the *profil perdu*, though less common, has also been remarked upon: it is particularly relevant in *The Valpinçon Bather*, at the Louvre.[58] Ingres's refined, luxurious orientalism and exoticism are here translated to a plain, sober, rural Catalan interior setting. Such was Picasso's genius and his tongue-in-cheek relationship to what is considered high culture. But, in any case, the connection to the model is less overt, more subtle than in other cases. Enigma as the beating heart of desire. The *profil perdu* plays with the logic of the gaze that renders the painting's protagonist absent from her very role of representation. The pitchers could be "transitional objects," expanding on Winnicott's understanding of this idea.[59] They are objects that connect psychic reality with the ordinary reality of experience. It has been suggested that the painting features a young woman from Gósol carrying out domestic tasks. It does not seem likely that young women in the rural Catalan Pyrenees would do such work with a bare torso. Nor is she in fact completing a task; she is simply present. The painting's seminude is a fantasy of Picasso's, one which redirects its scopic drive toward mystery in denying us her face and positioning the gaze along a line of flight. The pitchers are an easily interpreted metaphor: fresh water to calm thirst. And the fact that the woman is covered from the waist down and turns away from us, while still making her presence felt as a seminude, is an implicit allusion—following heteropatriarchal male scopophilia—to the fact that her body, like her face, is yet to be discovered.

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[56] D. W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (London: Routledge, 1989), 33–37.

[57] Pierre Francastel, *Peinture et société. Naissance et destruction d'un espace plastique de la Renaissance au cubisme* (Paris: Audin, 1951); Francastel, *La Figure et le lieu. L'Ordre visuel du Quattrocento* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967).

In *Nude with a Pitcher* [p. 133], today at the Art Institute of Chicago, the relationship between background and figure responds to the same criteria of atemporality and lack of location. In *Woman Plaiting Her Hair* [p. 137] at the MoMA, Picasso maintains a division between background and figure, just marking out an area around the body in a reddish ochre where the two meld together. Although the artist is also introducing other techniques here, such as the importance of *non finito* in visual space and, above all, the capturing of the face as a mask. But it is a mask that has both Iberian and Romanesque elements and that, as I see it, could even be seen to contain the echo of the influence of the famous Fang mask [p. 49] that Maurice de Vlaminck, and later Derain, introduced into the circles that Picasso moved in.

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[58] In French, Ingres's 1808 work is generally referred to as *La Grande Baigneuse, dite Valpinçon*, and sometimes as *La Baigneuse*.

[59] Winnicott, "Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena," in *Playing and Reality*, 1–25.

The Becoming of Images: Intertextualities

Picasso, in first defining modernity and taking the nude as a signifier, worked in various directions at once and put forth a range of registers of his own idea of figurative art. But even with this diversity, there is something that ties together all of these works in an unexpected way. In the transculturality of Picasso and his 1906 work, the "memory of the museum" was a key aspect of his imaginary. Myth and modernity might not seem to go hand in hand; indeed, they might seem to be opposites. However, Picasso brought them together semantically. The images of women arranging their hair point directly to the *La Toilette* series, epitomized by the painting of that name held at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo. But the referent at the heart of this series is everything having to do with the classical iconography of *La Toilette* or the vanity of Venus, recurring themes in Titian, Rubens, and Renaissance and Baroque painting. The women combing or arranging their hair echo even more strongly in Titian's *Venus Anadyomene*, at the National Galleries of Scotland.[60] In addition to the women arranging their hair already cited, we find the same reference in numerous drawings and sketches, and in pieces as celebrated as *Girl with a Goat* at the Barnes Foundation or *Nude Combing Her Hair* at the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth.

Robert Rosenblum has referred to these citations or appropriations in Picasso as "paraphrases."[61] This usage of the term does not entirely correspond to dictionary definitions of the rhetorical device. But, for the moment, it is the only one we have, and it can be used to refer to how Picasso translates mythological beings into figures from everyday life—in this case young countrywomen who are, in reality, reiterations of the iconotype of Fernande.[62]

In *Nude with a Pitcher* we have an example of the complex economy of images in Picasso. The circuit of signs in the work plays with the dialogue between the placid nude with closed eyes and the metaphor of the fresh water. But there is an underlying reference to the representation of the Greek goddess Hebe, the personification of youth. This is not incompatible with the work's simultaneous allusion to the iconographic codification of Temperance, which, as we know, lent its symbolism to one of the major arcana of tarot, which Picasso was familiar with via his relationships with Jacob and Apollinaire. But there is still more. The visual game of the nude woman with a pitcher must have belonged to the visual episteme of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a way that escapes us today. It is still possible to find photographs from the period of female nudes in an empty interior setting carrying a pitcher. Are they pornographic photographs? It is difficult to say, since the images are decorous, not lewd. Films were made to capture movement in which the model in motion was a nude woman carrying a pitcher. There are photographs from the late nineteenth century, attributed to Herman Heid, in which the image of a nude woman in an indoor setting serving water from a pitcher into a bowl is very similar to *Nude with a Pitcher*. Picasso ties together references to high culture and products from the emerging mass media like no other artist of his time. The heteroglossia of images was essential in Picasso's sense of modernity, even if most viewers today overlook it. We might wonder if this relationship with photography was equally overlooked by his contemporaries.

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[60] Carmona Mato, "De Gósol al Cubismo." In 2006, I introduced this comparison at the international conference where I presented that paper. It is now a well-established relationship recognized by those with knowledge of Picasso.

[61] Rosenblum, "Picasso in Gósol," 266.

[62] I would like to suggest this term to refer to iconic references that recur systematically in the work of an artist or visual creation.

Two Youths also alludes to myth. There is a clear similarity between the boy, particularly his upper body and arms, and the so-called *Génie du repos éternel* (The Spirit of Eternal Repose), also known as *Narcisse* or *Hermaphrodite Mazarin* [p. 33], in the Louvre. In this case, however, the identification of the image with its source does not imply that Picasso's work contains the qualities of the work it alludes to. It is significant that he retained the appearance of a pastiche, which implies that he was not focused on authenticity or looking specifically to Greek sculpture for its supposed cultural superiority. Nor does it seem that this adolescent figure is meant to evoke Narcissus or Hypnos, although there are academic works by numerous creators and many anonymous photographs that recreate the sculpture in the Louvre in this way. The economy of images in Picasso wagers on the impact of an icon, not necessarily the icon's latent content. Modifications and additions to the sculpture transformed it into a hermaphrodite, perhaps because of its gynecomastia and "feminine" face and hair. Picasso proceeds following the criteria of gender performativity that will eventually be common in his work. The feminine becomes masculine and vice versa. This could be confirmed if Picasso had seen Rubens's *The Judgement of Paris*, at the National Gallery of London, as the boy's pose is similar to that of the goddess Athena in full sexual rapture.

Beyond this Picassoan gender fluidity, to return to the "memory of the museum," in iconographic studies on the artist, we again find references to photography, both from 1997:[63] Robert Rosenblum related these figures in Picasso to the homoerotic work of Wilhelm von Gloeden [p. 118],[64] and Anne Baldassari suggested an ethnographic photograph taken by François-Edmond Fortier [pp. 134, 195, 233] as possible inspiration for *Two Youths*.[65] At this time, both of these suggestions had a significant impact. They changed how we understood Picasso. The former for introducing a disruptive element to an artist considered the very height of heteronormativity. The latter because it suggested that Picasso's models from that year could have come not so much from *art nègre* itself, but from the photographic documentation of ethnic "types." In my view, it is important to hold

[63] Karen Schiff, "Gender Flexibility in Picasso's *Demoiselles*: The Cipher of the Equivocating Ears," in *Core Program* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2022). On this, see also Carmona Mato, "Masculino Picasso Femenino."

[64] Rosenblum, "Picasso in Gósol," 272–73.

[65] Anne Baldassari, *Le Miroir noir. Picasso, sources photographiques, 1900–1928* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 66–67.

on to both references when considering the Picasso of 1906. If it is a question of them having an effect, they do. But the specific models presented by Rosenblum and Baldassari do not seem to have any clear similarity at all with these works by Picasso. They might have left in his works a figurative echo, perhaps. We should keep in mind that both ethnographic photography and homoerotic photography used pre-established visual models so they would be legible to European audiences—models that were stereotypes rooted in Western visual production.

There is still more. Readings of the body in *Two Youths* have been complicated by relating the painting's iconography with other works by Picasso from 1906, particularly works on paper or in sketchbooks. In those drawings we see nude boys. They are clearly younger than the boy in *Two Youths* housed at L'Orangerie, but they are similarly posed with their arms over their heads. As an example, we can look at a drawing in the Met, known as *Youth in an Archway*. Some have seen in the pose of this and other boys—and therefore in the boy of *Two Youths* —a libidinal note. This sort of observation is quite risky.[66]

I think immediately of Joaquín Sorolla's boys on the beach, a series of works from the very same time as Picasso's. No one suggests that Sorolla had any intention other than making a statement in favor of joie de vivre by portraying the delight of boys playing nude on the sand and in the surf. We might also consider in this regard some sculptures by Aristide Maillol, Josep Clarà, or von Hildebrand, or paintings by Hans von Marées. And, why not, well-known paintings and photographs by Thomas Eakins, even if his models are older youths and the context of his works is distinct from the European cultural milieu.[67] I have not forgotten Cézanne's bathers to whom the Picasso of 1906 owes so much. In the early twentieth century, children and childhood were an object of study reflected on from a range of angles. In 1903, the ethnographer, expert in anthropometry, and author of treatises Carl Heinrich Stratz, whom Picasso certainly knew of, published *Der Körper des Kindes und seine Pflege* (The Child's Body and Its Care).[68] The work was quickly rereleased in various editions and was richly illustrated with photographs of nude boys and adolescents, which were nothing other than informative, if with an aestheticizing excess in the models' poses. Similarly, the image of a nude boy became the emblem of publications and posters produced by anarchists who supported nudism—in this context becoming the symbol of a supposed primeval goodness. But at the same time—in 1906 in fact—the first German gay magazine, *Der Eigene*, in existence since 1896, began to print a photo of an elegant, serious, naked boy on the inside cover. Once again, images are signifiers whose signified depends on the chain of other signifiers they are tied to, or on the code that determines the context they originate in. In the agricultural world of the early twentieth century, the

[66] I will leave discussion of *The Swineherd* (*Le Porcher*), at the MoMA, and similar drawings for another occasion. But I believe that Picasso's sense of humor and use of vignette has been transformed into a category due to a misinterpretation of the boy's pose.

[67] On this note, I do not want to fail to cite the contribution of Xavier Rey, "In der Natur," in *The Male Nude: Dimensions of Masculinity from the 19th Century and Beyond*, ed. Agustín Arteaga and Guy Cocheval, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2014), 167–73. See also Guy Cocheval, ed., *Masculin/Masculin. L'Homme nu dans l'art de 1800 à nos jours*, exh. cat. (Paris: Flammarion; Musée d'Orsay, 2013).

[68] Carl Heinrich Stratz, *Der Körper des Kindes und seine Pflege* (Erlangen: Ferdinand Enke, 1903).

poses of the boys Picasso depicted were poses of rest and repose. In some of Rafael Barradas's and Benjamín Palencia's drawings from the 1920s and 1930s, we see Aragonese and Manchegan peasant boys in the same positions as the boys from Gósol in Picasso.

In the compositions mentioned above and in the paintings titled *The Two Brothers* [p. 131], Picasso creates an elegy to childhood as a foundational period and to the experience of not yet being "corrupted" by life in society. Picasso is a Nietzschean and, through Nietzsche, seems to evoke Schiller in considering childhood the only true homeland of man and viewing play—particularly children's play with its disinterested pleasure making it an end in itself—as the only possible equivalent of true art. In view of this, we must also consider *Le Jeune Écuyer* (The Young Rider) [p. 121], held by the Fundación Almine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso (FABA): it is part of the *Watering Place* series in which the affirming drive of youth does not prevent the eroticization of the figure.

We could also consider the notion that in these compositions with children and adolescents, like *Boy Leading a Horse* or *Two Youths* in Washington, DC, Picasso was evoking the sculpture of the Archaic Period of ancient Greek art. In fact, Anthony Blunt and Phoebe Pool associate these works, especially that version of *Two Youths*, with the kouros from Actium, from 575 BCE, a piece Picasso could have seen at the Louvre.[69] Elizabeth Cowling added the Kritios Boy to the mix,[70] and Marilyn McCully drew comparisons between the Picasso of 1906 and Greek sculpture in order to link the artist with the new Mediterranean classicism of the early part of the century.[71] But, if we observe them carefully, we see that Picasso's boys have anatomic and therefore aesthetic characteristics that are perhaps somewhat different. The shoulders of Picasso's figures are slumped, not pulled back and broad like those of Greek sculpture. Picasso does not mark the collar bone or pectoral muscles, he does not define the curve of the thorax or the abdominal muscles, and he barely emphasizes the curve of the groin. His figures do not contain the presence of the *cuirasse esthétique*. What then is the meaning of this absence? Did he wish to distance himself from the academic approach to the nude and from the classical art tradition, favoring a concept of the body as a metaphor for a full life about to begin? The connections tying the Picasso of 1906 to archaic and severe Greek sculpture should not be taken so deterministically. They ought only be suggestions. Perhaps we can glean the impact of classical art in these works by Picasso, but he might be more closely aligned with the simplicity and lyricism of some Roman bronzes of young boys or some examples of Pompeiian painting, like the victorious Theseus from the House of Gavius Rufus, than with the formal and conceptual principles of archaic Greek art.[72]

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[69] Blunt and Pool, *Picasso, the Formative Years*, figs. 161–62.

[70] Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning*, 146–47.

[71] McCully, "Picasso and Mediterranean Classicism," 69–91.

[72] Concepció Boncompte Coll, "Iconografía picassiana entre 1905–1907. Influencia de la pintura pompeyana" (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2009).

If we look at some of Picasso's academic works from his early formative years, we will see that some of the 1906 compositions are "rewritings" or reformulations of that earlier moment. The relationship between *Two Youths* in Washington and two other paintings is particularly striking: one from 1896, at the Fundación Palau, and another from 1898, in a private collection. This would suggest we have cases of transcription (*Umschrift*) or retranscription, which so interested Freud and by extension Jacques Derrida.[73] It would mean that Picasso was not so much alluding to classical art as he was reformulating and giving a different meaning to his own academic training.

The boy in *Two Youths* at the Musée de l'Orangerie does not have any predecessors in the academic Picasso and has little to do with archaic Greek art. Everything in the figure is about the arabesque drive, figural distortion, and mannerist stylization. The shapes that compose his body evoke Cézanne and El Greco. This, as I see it, is Picasso's true language, for we see it reiterated in the works that connect the end of his time in Gósol with his second Parisian period. The outline of the figure is able to modulate all the curves of a muscle without defining them, as if a friendly hand were running over the body. This effect maximizes the haptic sensation, the sense of tactility through sight that Berenson so praised. The chiaroscuros on the body's surface create a similar interplay of sensations, evoking the musculature without describing it. The shape created by the arms frames the head like an aura. That is when the figure is transformed into his gaze. His eyes are tinged with reddish and ochre oil paint. Why would Picasso cover the eyes with paint? The viewer must get close to the painting to make this out. It does not seem he was attempting to represent blindness. It does not seem like an erasure. They are paint-eyes. As if the blots of red ochre signaled, as Fernando Pessoa would put it, that looking without seeing is to see clearly, and that sight, in this case, is turned in toward the inside of the body itself. This boy from 1906 does not have eyes, but he has color in his gaze.

The force of the boy in *Two Youths* has pulled interest away from his *partenaire* in the painting. There are, in fact, two figures, who barely communicate with one another and could hardly be said to make up a scene. There is something enigmatic about this other figure. Something that seems *maladroit* or deformed, although perhaps this is a purposeful "primitivism" on Picasso's part. Indeed, the distortion of this other body reminds us quite a bit of the surprising distortions we find in Cézanne's bathers. Distortions of a Cézanne who was indeed aspiring to be a "primitive." His work seemed to evoke Egyptian art. Now Picasso does too, in this figure. Although the use of a warped perspective and frontal gaze exist in his work since the Blue Period.

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[73] Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887–1904* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985), 207. Jacques Derrida, "Freud and the Scene of Writing" (1967), in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 196–231.

The Scopic Drive

Critics have raised doubts about the gender of this other figure in *Two Youths*—whom I have referred to as female—and have even deemed it androgynous. When that observation was first made, there was no knowledge of the fact that it would contribute to a recognition of gender fluidity in Picasso. But the *profil perdu* and the jug point to *Demi-nu à la cruche* in a private collection and *Nude with a Pitcher* at the Art Institute of Chicago. It is a woman. A woman fulfilling a gender role. She is carrying water. The Picasso of 1906 bucked many conventions, but his iconographic regime continued to follow patriarchal structures. His boys are daring horseback riders or absorbed in their own bodies, but the girls' activities tend to capture a codified domesticity, when the paintings are not revealing a moment of intimacy. The *profil perdu* and the jug evoke a metaphor discussed above. And it is interesting that Picasso has created these typified roles in *Two Youths* without placing on the female figure a projection desire. The scopic drive is directed toward the boy. With this, Picasso created a contradictory or paradoxical space with regard to common heterosexually situated pictorial practices.

In the Picasso of 1906, the scopic drive toward the markedly sexualized female body primarily develops, as hinted at above, in the many variations of the series *La Toilette*. Picasso "justifies" this voyeurism by citing mythology and evoking art history. Immersed in the heteropatriarchal values of his time, he tells us that what he is proposing is situated in the development of the history of images. Let us imagine the young artist who feels it is legitimate to paraphrase what he sees in moments of intimacy, turning his lover into a goddess. If we imagine that, we will see that in *The Harem* there is a twist on the paintings of *La Toilette*.

The Harem is doubly condemned. First, because, according to criticism, it is Picasso's response to Ingres's *The Turkish Bath*. If we look carefully, the main aspects of the iconography of the two works do not align. But this relationship is a firmly established fact that is difficult to overturn; critical opinion is on the side of the similarity between them. Ingres is present in *The Harem*, but in how Picasso captures, adopts, and transforms a type of linear, precise, though still open drawing, a style that embraces the arabesque. Looking at another line of relationships, *The Harem* can be connected to Dürer's *Frauenbad* (The Women's Bath), and from there to Corot's female nudes, which Picasso so admired. His portrayals of girls combing and plaiting their hair are clearly indebted to Corot's *Jeune fille à sa toilette* (Girl at Her Toilet) [p. 154]—created between 1850 and 1875, now at the Louvre—even if that girl is not nude. The female nudes of *The Harem* also evoke Titian's *Venus Anadyomene*, filtered through Corot's *El baño de Diana* (Diana Bathing) [p. 155], part of the Carmen Thyssen collection.

The Harem is also condemned because it is considered a precursor to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Six months passed between the painting of the two works. A very long time when it comes to Picasso. The figures portrayed in the final version are different from those in *The Harem*. So too are the figures in the preparatory process leading up to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. If in 1906 Picasso was learning that the signifier is the signified, the "style" of *The Harem* is so distant from the academic classicism of Ingres and from the isomorphism of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* that the work must have another signified—despite the shared brothel theme and even if Picasso has interpreted Ingres's Oriental fantasia as a brothel.

If we pay attention to how Picasso delineates the two figures on the left—the woman braiding her hair and the woman washing herself—we see a spontaneous, loose line, a light, rapid touch, with a use of color that bears a lyric similarity to that of the Fauves. With these two figures, especially the one braiding her hair, Picasso is again alluding to Titian's *Venus Anadyomene*. The only painting contemporary to Picasso's in which Matisse alludes to mythology is *La Joie de vivre* (The Joy of Life). That work had a notable impact, as Picasso was well aware. I believe we can consider *The Harem* as a response to *La Joie de vivre*. Picasso makes two objections to Matisse's work. The first has to do with the artistic language and sense of mimesis that Picasso still wants to maintain in a visual field that is not as distant from the sense inherited in the morphology of the bodies. The second is a moral objection. He feels that what Matisse presents in an idyllic setting, in the real life of the bourgeoisie only happens in a brothel. To top it off, Picasso's brothel is rather shabby—very much not Matisse's *locus amoenus*.

In her first book of memoirs, Fernande Olivier is forthright about the use of hashish among Picasso, his friends, and herself.[74] In a particularly intense session, Apollinaire, while fully hallucinating, said he was dreaming of a brothel. *The Harem* is probably a recreation of that fantasy. With an exaggeratedly traditional, folkloric touch, Picasso makes the scene Spanish, introducing La Celestina, a *porrón* filled with wine, and bread with chorizo. This makes *The Harem* a highly intertextual work. It would be worth someday taking the time to work through all of its citations and registers. The four nude girls are echoes of the iconic type that contains a trace of Fernande. It is all in the family. But critics have always paid attention to the nude man, sturdy and bald, who appears in the scene. He seems to have his eyes closed, daydreaming. He grasps the neck of the *porrón* that is on the ground with one hand. In the other hand he has a small flower. The fact of his nudity and the restrained revelation of his genitalia deconstruct the theme. At the turn of the century, the

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[74] Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, 112–13; Eng.: 133–34.

"canonical" representation of a brothel required the bourgeois men to be clothed and the women to be naked or nearly so. This deviation is disconcerting and makes us think that Picasso is working in a different register than the one immediately suggested by the painting: this is the register not of the real but of the imaginary. The painting could be representing a peculiar brothel, but it is above all a love fantasy. In 1905, Picasso playfully drew Apollinaire nude several times. In those drawings we can see that Apollinaire was interested at the time in bodybuilding: he holds a key magazine from the era in his hands, *La Culture physique*. As its name indicates, it was dedicated to fostering and celebrating what we would today call fitness and bodybuilding. But it was an exceptional magazine, one whose importance Tamar Garb has explored.[75] In order to exalt bodybuilding, the magazine published articles accompanied by photographs of models in poses that evoked ancient Greek and Roman sculptures. Here we have the popular version of the "paraphrase" Picasso carried out in painting. Picasso's paraphrase here, rather than being specifically a celebration of bodybuilding, was something that permeated the episteme during the period. And Apollinaire made a living editing the substantive articles in *La Culture physique*, where he would also come to publish.

All of this is to say that *The Harem*, besides being a response to Matisse, was likely part of a private game. In any case, with this possible origin and with the equating of the male nude and the women, as well as other "clues," we can consider *The Harem* a "non-phallic" painting. Moreover, the man is holding a flower in his hand, like one of the mysterious male figures in Dürer's *Männerbad* (The Men's Bathhouse). All of which says things of Picasso we might not expect. And this makes *The Harem* not the conclusion of the early Picasso of 1906, but an excursus during the new Golden Age he was immersed in.

Identifications. Hybridizations. Masks

In 1939, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. wrote that the face in *Gertrude Stein* was "mask-like."[76] There is no document from the period to suggest it was based on a mask. Nor does Gertrude Stein says anything about it in her writing. But the statement has never been questioned nor does it seem it will be. Barr introduced a way of seeing a work that was decisive in the establishment of modern art. In a short text that glosses the painting, he situates it alongside a self-portrait of Picasso, today at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The comment on the mask-like face also refers to this

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75
Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 54–79.

76
Barr, *Picasso: Forty Years*, 56.

work, and, by extension, to all of Picasso's self-portraits from 1906. He calls these masks "impersonal." But what he does not say is that Stein's face-mask and those of Picasso are very similar. Nearly identical. Pablo is proposing an "identification" with Gertrude through a visual sign that produces a physical similarity between the two of them that did not exist in real life. Freud first spoke of identification in a letter to Fliess in 1897. It seems commonplace today, but identification only really began with the modern subject, and in all of its variations refers to the process by which a subject adopts as their own one or more attributes of another subject.[77]

And from Freud to Lacan. Elsewhere, Jacques Lacan's theories have been invoked to speak of Stein, Picasso, and the mask.[78] Lacan returns to tell us something about the identity of the relationship between Picasso and Stein. It is worth reframing the matter. Between 1957 and 1958, Lacan gave a series of lessons collected in Seminar 5, *Formations of the Unconscious*. One of the lessons was dedicated to "Symptoms and Their Masks." Speaking of desire, he says: "The notion of a mask means that desire presents itself in an ambiguous form that does not make it possible for us to orientate the subject in relation to this or that object in the situation. The subject is interested in the situation as such, that is to say, in the relations of desire. This is exactly what is expressed by the symptom that appears, and it's what I call the element of a mask in a symptom."[79]

It is worth repeating a sentence: "The subject is interested in the situation as such, that is to say, in the relations of desire." This invalidates all of the (misogynistic and homophobic) comments suggesting that Picasso was not interested in Gertrude because she was older, a lesbian, and overweight. Although it is worth recalling that in Lacan desire can be distinct from the sexual drive, even if one very much implies the presence of the other. For Picasso to make Stein's face into a mask and to share those features with her in his self-portraits is a clear case of identification. And it means, as strange as it may be to some, that desire was "situated" in the relationship between the two of them as a driving force. Recognizing that desire is a different matter. And sublimating it or making it remain in the unconscious were other tasks for the psyche to carry out. This sort of desire implies the wish to interact: the mind of each one functions in a spontaneous connection. Perhaps that is why Stein remarked that when she and Picasso met, they understood one another so well, despite their poor French. They invented their own language, a French just for the two of them.[80] They conversed knee to knee.[81] And Picasso asked her to explain many things to him—*racontez-moi cela*—because she understood the foundations of creation.[82]

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[77] Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism" (1914), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 14 (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1957); León Grinberg, *Teoría de la identificación* (Madrid: Tecnipublicaciones, 1985).

[78] Lubar, "Unmasking Pablo's Gertrude."

[79] Jacques Lacan, *Formations of the Unconscious: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book V*, trans. Russell Grigg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017), 326.

[80] "I talk French badly and write it worse but so does Pablo he says we write and talk our French, but that is a later story." Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1937), 19.

[81] Stein, *The Autobiography*, 738.

[82] Stein, *The Autobiography*.

But the relationship of desire between Picasso and Stein flourished in him in a pragmatic way. A splendid drawing titled *Standing Nude* [p. 45], now at the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD), depicts a curvaceous woman lost in her own thoughts. Once again, Picasso appears to be citing Dürer.[83] But the basic contours of the woman's face are very similar to the mask in Gertrude's portrait. The resemblance is also apparent in the photograph that Alvin Langdon Coburn took of Stein in 1913 [p. 45]. More enigmatic is the watercolor, cut out and mounted on wood, at the Baltimore Museum of Art, now known as *Two Nude Women* [p. 229]. The presence of an African American woman reminds us that Stein was writing the chapter "Melanctha" in *Three Lives* when Picasso painted her portrait.[84] Or is it a passage from *Q.E.D.* that comes to mind? It is significant that some scholars writing today on *Q.E.D.* feel the protagonist's only solution is to sense "the primitive."[85] And, indeed, John Richardson, who has not concealed that he is unsympathetic to the arguments in favor of Stein's relevance in Picasso's life, has suggested, *malgré lui*, that the corpulent women in Picasso's drawings and even well-known oil paintings from the second half of 1906 may bear the mark of Stein's physique.[86] If this is the case, Picasso would be giving Stein his best signifier: the naked body.

What, then, does Picasso wish to inscribe in Stein's face and his own? In his milieu in 1906, the mask began to become synonymous with a radical appropriation of the notion of "primitive art," especially the appropriation of *art nègre*. I will not get into here the ideological inappropriateness of the labels "primitive art" and *art nègre*. When Barr spoke of the face-mask, he was thinking about what he called "Negro art," as he was unaware of or simply not considering Picasso's relationship with Iberian art or Catalan Romanesque art.

Gertrude was aware that she was many things to Picasso. For one, her house became the art gallery where those interested could go see her friend and protégé's work.[87] Picasso did not exhibit at the salons. He did not yet have a contract with a dealer. The evolution of his work could be observed in his Bateau-Lavoir studio or at 48 rue de Fleurus. When he finished Stein's portrait and she had hung it in her living room, Picasso was declaring that the relationship between the incipient modern art and "primitive art" was "taking place" in his work.

But not only that. Until then, for a painting to be recognized as such, it had to have coherence or stylistic unity. *Gertrude Stein* lacks stylistic unity. Two dissimilar or alien languages coexist on the surface of the canvas. One is that of conventional fin de siècle painting, which Picasso began to elaborate before going to Gósol. The other is the face-mask with its allusion to the "primitive." Picasso was opening up to heterogeneity and hybridization. This is the

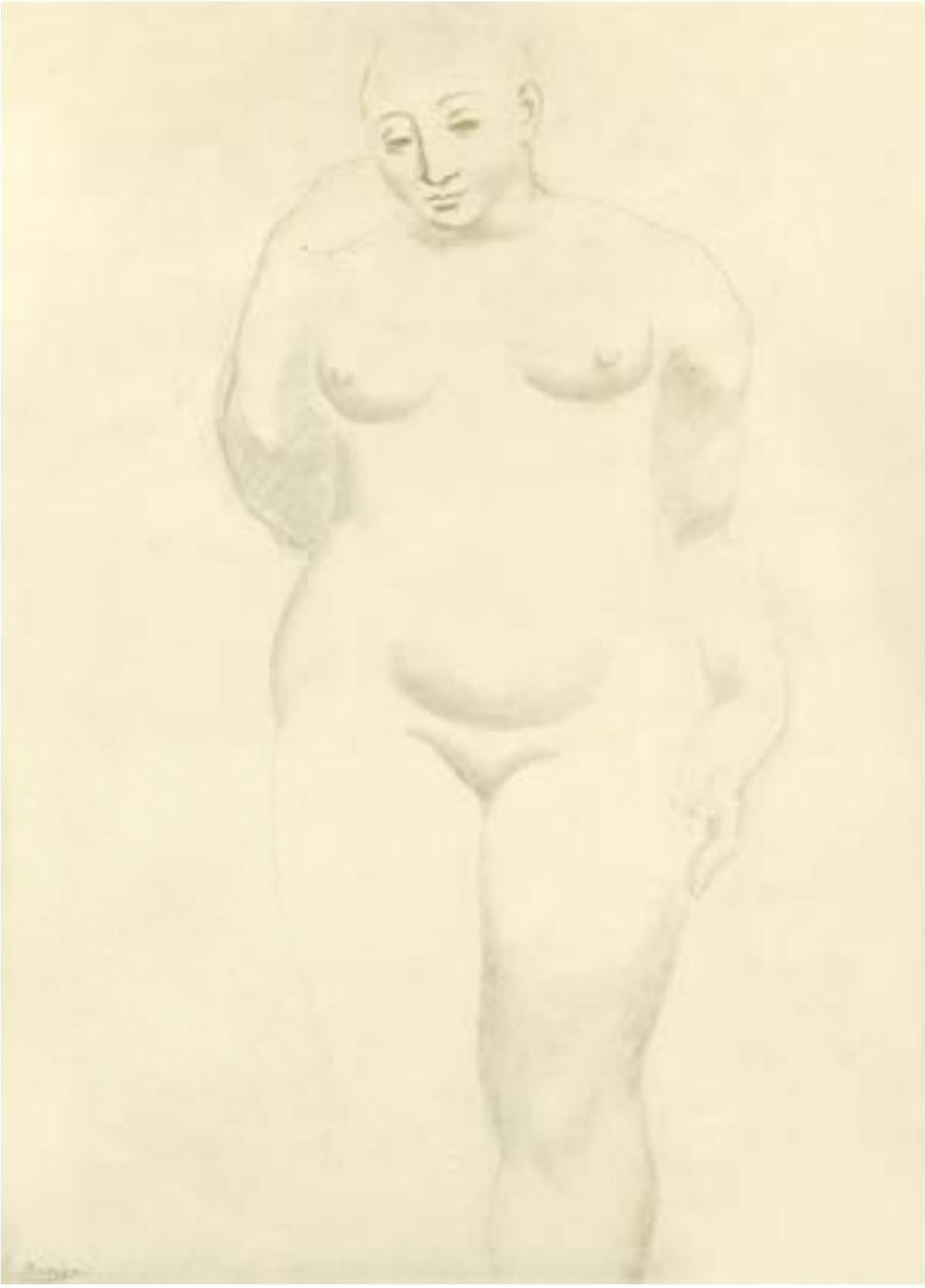
[83] Robert Bruck, *Das Skizzenbuch von Albrecht Dürer: in der Königl. Öffentl. Bibliothek zu Dresden* (Strasbourg: J. H. Ed. Heitz [Heitz & Mündel], 1905), plate 19 (146).

[84] Lisa Ruddick, "'Melanctha' and the Psychology of William James," *Modern Fiction Studies* 28, no. 4 (1982–83): 545–56

[85] Jaime Hovey, "Sapphic Primitivism in Gertrude Stein's *Q.E.D.*," *Modern Fiction Studies* 42, no. 3 (1996): 547–68.

[86] Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, 1:469.

[87] Stein, *The Autobiography*, 80.



Standing Nude
1906

Alvin Langdon Coburn
Gertrude Stein
1913

true beginning of modern art. The disruptive nature of *Gertrude Stein*—the principle of hybridity that it contains—is the preamble to introducing words into painting and the invention of collage. Picasso needed this disruptive pronouncement. His work was to hang in Stein's house beside a portrait by Cézanne and next to another well-known portrait by Matisse.

The face-mask was not new to Picasso.[88] When he was a child, his father taught him to make sculptures out of papier-mâché. We know that they created a *Dolorosa*, a representation of Our Lady of Sorrows.[89] In the Andalusian imaginary, there are *vírgenes de vestir*, Virgins to be dressed, which are featured in religious processionals: they tend to be just frames where only the hands and head, especially the face, are carved. The faces of these Virgins are known as *mascarillas*, masks. And Picasso was no doubt familiar with them. The Egyptian mortuary masks in the Louvre must have also brought to mind the masks of the Andalusian Virgins, despite their distinct ritual and religious import. A strange painting from 1900, catalogued by Palau,[90] is the explicit representation of a face-mask.[91] The oblong face, the finely arched eyebrows, the filament-like nose, and the schematic quality of the entire image both recall the masks of the Andalusian Virgins and foreshadow the Gósol face-masks. And does this face-mask precursor from 1900 not have a similar sense of synthesis that a European or Western observer initially perceives in the famous Fang mask that Vlaminck and Derain introduced in the small circle of the early Parisian avant-garde?

After this forerunner, the face-mask would appear repeatedly in Picasso's Blue Period. Already in 1901, in compositions portraying "ladies of the night," Picasso created schematic faces, bringing together eyebrows with a simplified nose, making the face into an oval, and working on the union between the outline of the face and the ear creating a single graphic sign. I point this out because it is a stylistic (or graphic) technique that Picasso is always said to have "taken" from Iberian art. At the same time, also starting in 1901, Picasso hints at the melancholy of impoverished women in his works by emphasizing the face-mask. Two important sculptures from 1903, *The Blind Singer* and *Head of a Picador with a Broken Nose*, are also face-masks. The face-masks in Blue Period paintings bear, we do not know how, the imprint of the so-called primitive. Later, this technique disappears and will not return until Picasso's time in the Lleida Pyrenees.

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[88] Enrique Mallén's book makes some interesting suggestions, though different from those presented here: *La muerte y la máscara en Pablo Picasso*, Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics (New York: Peter Lang, 2013).

[89] José Ruiz Blasco's *Dolorosa*, ca. 1870–80, can be found in the Museo Casa Natal Picasso, Ayuntamiento de Málaga. See Rafael Inglada Roselló, ed., *Picasso de Málaga* (Málaga: Fundación Museo Picasso Málaga. Legado Paul, Christine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso, 2013), 124.

[90] Josep Palau i Fabre, *Picasso: The Early Years, 1881–1907* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 177, cat. 366.

[91] I am grateful to Pablo Salazar for his comments on this work and its relationship to Picasso's face-mask during 1906.

In Gósol, Picasso created the gouache [p. 182] held by the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, which is generally said to represent Fernande. According to extant photos from the period, Fernande did not have sharp features or an elongated, oval face. If it is her, she has undergone a "transfiguration" brought about by the mask. Despite the fact that the work conveys a powerful sense of figurative representation, it is made up of compact chromatic areas, like "shapes," against an aniconic background. Only the stylized face-mask reintroduces the sense of figurativeness. Even more stylized is the face in *Woman with Loaves* [p. 167] at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. This is a work that seeks to sum up the Gósol vernacular. The works on rural Gósol make up a notable grouping, but there are not as many as we might expect after looking through the *Catalan Carnet*—and I am including the still lifes. In *Boy with Cattle* [p. 166], at the Columbus Museum of Art in Ohio, we clearly see a peasant turned into one of the arcadian youths of earlier compositions. Picasso avoided falling into naturalism, or even the anecdotal, completing the drawing and the features of its protagonist in sanguine (red chalk). The boy herding the cattle is content against the background of a landscape. *Woman with Loaves*, on the other hand, is portrayed against a powerful aniconic background that conceptualizes her presence, presenting a strong counterpoint to the rustic accent of the imagery and the power of the face-mask.

Countenance, Physiognomies

For Jèssica Jaques Pi, the concept of the face-mask is one of the most decisive elements of Picasso in Gósol.[92] To help us, we can introduce, alongside the mask, the concept of the "countenance." The dictionary tells us that a countenance is a look or expression, especially "the face as an indication of mood, emotion, or character." From a psychological perspective, we could understand the countenance as referring to the features that articulate a discourse about a certain image—which, as an image, is always polysemous—and that shows us one of its possibilities by bringing it to life in a given moment. In 1906, but especially in Gósol, Picasso repeated time and again the countenances of the iconotype we call "Fernande." Again, "Fernande" was a signifier to him, waiting for its signified. The signifier was the mark created by his partner's features. The signified is transmitted through the visual language that Picasso experiments or works with. Picasso could not have done this if Fernande had not continually challenged him emotionally. He had to fight for her. She was not only *la belle Fernande*.[93] She had had a complex personal history, full of traumatic experiences, and as a result her relationships with others were not simple. She was not unfamiliar with the artistic milieu; she was educated and cultured to the extent possible. She would have liked to have been a painter, and she was able to give French classes to the couple's friends from the United States. She read the fables of La Fontaine with clear diction and pleasing intonation. Picasso between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-five might have been influenced by libertarian thinking, but his outlook regarding Fernande continued to be shaped by a patriarchal mold. He did not know how to place her, which led him to "pursue" her countenances. This is what has led us to the idea of a Fernande "iconotype." Picasso's biographers see Fernande in nearly every female nude of 1906, especially those from Gósol. Knowing that the two of them enjoyed a harmonious time there spurs on this identificatory compulsion. But the features of the Fernande in the oil painting at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston resembles very little, if at all, those in the gouache at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. There is a certain degree of cosplaying of Fernande in each of those countenances. Using raw red clay to sculpt his partner's head, perhaps in Paris before they went to Gósol, Picasso is on par with Medardo Rosso and the late Auguste Rodin, as Werner Spies clearly saw.[94] Fernande's even features allow for a paradoxical game of partially dematerializing the figure and provoking unfiltered haptic sensations. A new concept of sculpture is latent in this clay, but this version of Fernande's head, which was later cast several times in bronze, is the complete opposite. However, in the painting in Boston portraying Fernande, Picasso, following Ingres's lead, invents a type of portrait that he will later repeat in the interwar period under the sign of the "classic" Picasso. There Fernande appears as a bourgeois lady. In the work in the FABA collection, she is dressed like a woman from Gósol set against the backdrop of Pedraforca mountain [p. 183]. She looks like the Fernande in photos from this period but playing at being a local peasant woman. In the oil painting and gouache at the Yale University Art Gallery, she is a "modern" girl, and Picasso competes with the languages of the Fauves in the use of *non finito*, though with a stronger mimetic sense. We see in this series of Fernandes that the Picasso of 1906 uses her as a pretext to flaunt his use of a full range of registers of visual language. He was on a quest. And at one point, while on his search, he came across the face-mask again.

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[92] Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol*, 105–10.

The Fernande at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts does not physically resemble the other Fernandes mentioned above. Her face-mask is very similar to the other face-masks of women in contemporary pieces, and it even resembles the one in *Woman with Loaves* in Philadelphia. There is something about the stylization of these faces, the sharply pointed features, the simplicity of the eyebrows, and the pointed oval of the face that does not belong to Iberian or Catalan Romanesque art. It does have a certain echo, though with a distinct sense of mimesis, that might recall the famous Fang mask, mentioned above, that in 1906 changed hands from Vlaminck to Derain. I know this is a bold statement. But I would rather mention this impression than leave it unremarked upon. Joshua Cohen has made a thorough, revelatory study of the Fauves' first encounters with *art nègre* and has detailed the circuits of knowledge and exchange surrounding the Fang mask, which was gifted to Vlaminck by a friend or acquaintance and later sold to Derain.[95] Today, the piece is at the Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Pompidou. Cohen, an always clearheaded and meticulous scholar, notes that according to the documents he has examined, the Fauves' interest in African and Oceanic art began in late summer or early fall of 1905, one year earlier than has generally been thought.[96] He also states that Vlaminck sold the Fang mask to Derain at some point between fall 1905 and spring 1906. This is relevant to our narrative here. Vlaminck's mask was "circulating" among those he knew before Picasso left for Gósol. Although Cohen also notes that Derain finally showed Matisse and Picasso the mask *after* the summer of 1906. Still, in a footnote, he reconsiders, in part, this timeline, while arguing that it remains the most probable.[97] It is possible, therefore, that Derain showed Picasso and Matisse the mask in April. Cohen is doubtful of this possibility. He comes down on the side of October, when Derain had already moved to his studio on the rue Tourlaque, and when everyone had already returned to Paris. Even so, April continues to exist as a possibility. With all of the information we have, we can conclude that it is truly a challenge to establish a precise and definite timeline. Let us remember that Picasso himself stated on some occasions that he took his famous trip to the Musée du Trocadéro, the sanctuary of *art nègre*, by himself,[98] and on other occasions that he went with Derain,[99] which changes the mythology of the Picassoan narrative both in 1906 and in the creative moment of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. That "mythological" narrative changes even more when we keep in mind that Derain and Vlaminck went to the museum together starting in 1906.[100] In any case, my being so bold as to connect some of Picasso's face-masks with Vlaminck and Derain's Fang mask, coupled with Cohen's painstaking account of the facts, brings us to another approach by bringing into focus the relationship between Picasso and *art nègre*, or between Picasso and "primitive art."

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[93] Nathalie Bondil and Saskia Ooms, *Fernande Olivier et Pablo Picasso. Dans l'intimité du Bateau-Lavoir* (Paris: Musée de Montmartre, In Fine éditions d'art, 2022).

[94] Werner Spies, *Picasso sculpteur. Catalogue raisonné des sculptures établi en collaboration avec Christine Piot* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2000), 38; Eng.: *Picasso: The Sculptures; Catalogue Raisonné of the Sculptures in Collaboration with Christine Piot* (Ostildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 38.

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[95] Joshua I. Cohen, *The "Black Art" Renaissance: African Sculpture and Modernism across Continents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 23–54; Cohen, "Fauve Masks: Rethinking Modern 'Primitivist' Uses of African and Oceanic Art, 1905–8," *The Art Bulletin* 99, no. 2 (2017): 136–65.

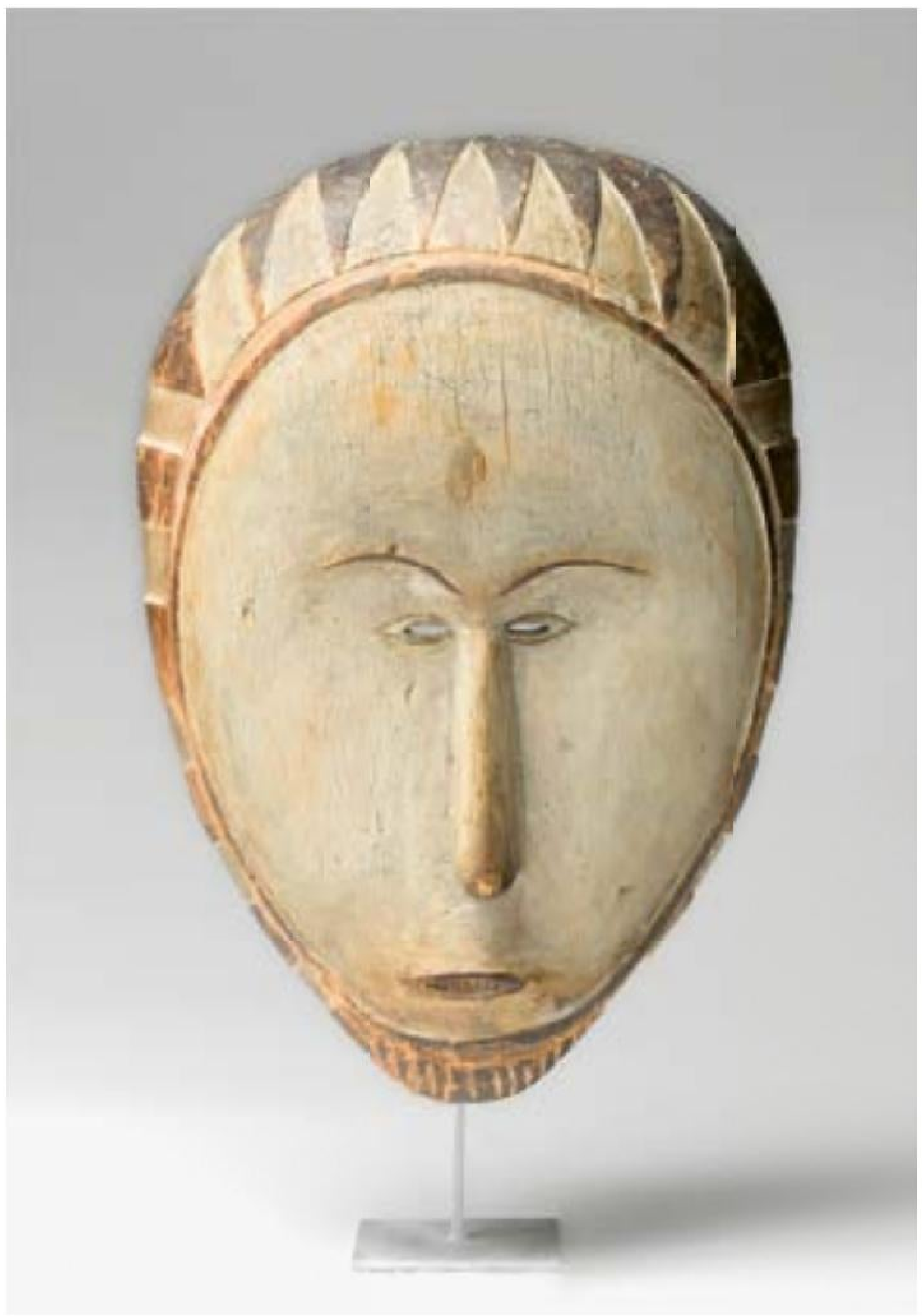
[96] Cohen, *The "Black Art" Renaissance*, 26–29.

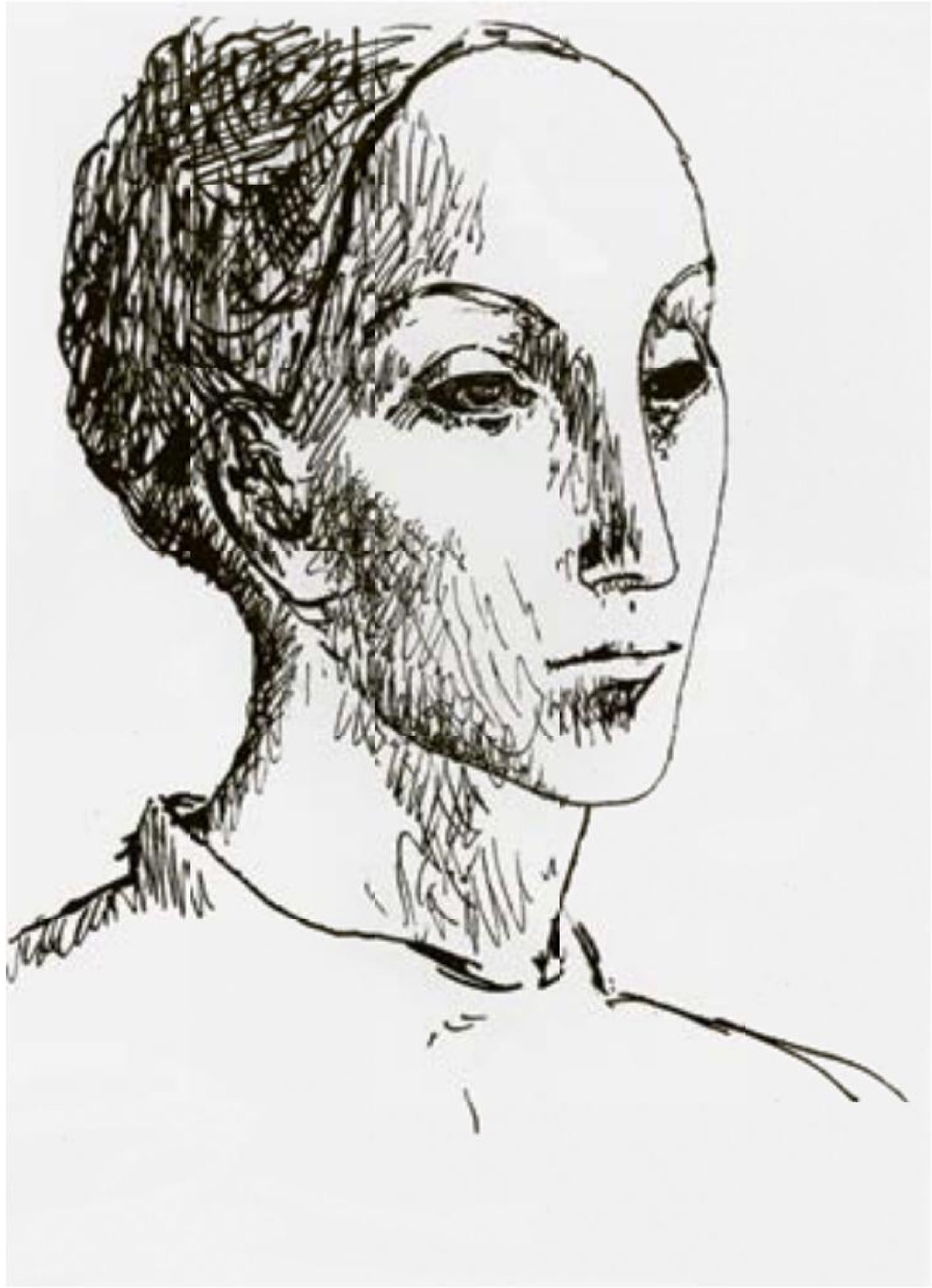
[97] Cohen, "Fauve Masks," 160–61.

[98] André Malraux, *Picasso's Mask*, trans. June Guicharnaud with Jacques Guicharnaud (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 10–11.

[99] Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 266.

[100] Cohen, *The "Black Art" Renaissance*, 26.





Unknown Author
Masque Fang (Gabon)
(Fang Mask [Gabon])
20th century

Tête de femme de Gósol
(Head of a Woman from Gósol)
Summer 1906

We have grown accustomed to Picasso as appropriator. Every celebratory mention of Picasso in critical scholarship is accompanied by a hunt for his "source." Sometimes this criticism seems to seek citation or support, but it often seems to be looking for a debt. It would seem to suggest that Picasso was Picasso thanks to his ability to transform what he borrowed. Picasso's creations leave no doubt as to his virtuosity, but his skill at *inventio* was on par with his technical abilities and his knowledge of art history. He was exploring artistic language and the polysemous nature of images simultaneously. The visual solutions he worked with in his search for the primordial and primitive could sometimes be corroborated by their analogy to "primitive art." But at other times the solutions of "primitive art" were able to inspire a path for him to follow. That was part of Picasso's creative process.

In this context, it is worth looking at a singular piece. Carved in wood and housed today at the Musée national Picasso-Paris, the piece was called *Bust of a Woman (Fernande)*[101] by Spies and *Talla de Fernande* (Carving of Fernande)[102] by Jèssica Jaques Pi [p. 213]. We know that Picasso hoped that Casanovas would bring or send him carving tools in Gósol. In the end, Casanovas did not make the trip, and the tools did not arrive. Picasso had to work with his own knife. This gives the piece of boxwood its well-known rustic nature, particularly the figure's face, which is extremely stylized with simplified features. It is a face-mask that we could associate with the face-mask of the gouache in the Virginia Museum, despite its more heavily schematic character. Some, observing this carving, have even invoked Gauguin's sculpture. For Jaques Pi, there is a clear tie to rustic Catalan Romanesque art, although I do not see such an evident similarity.[103] Looking at this carved face, could we again evoke Vlaminck and Derain's Fang mask? Accepting that this third possibility is a suggestion, and foregrounding the work itself rather than Picasso's skill at appropriation, all three approaches are viable.

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[101] Spies, *Picasso sculpteur*, 38, cat. 6.C; Eng.: 37, cat. 6C.

[102] Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol*, 162.

[103] Ibid., 20.

The Koine of "the Primitive" and a Self-Portrait as Emblem

That last point is important: we are used to privileging one "primitive art" referent or another when discussing Picasso's work. Perhaps we should consider that he worked with all possibilities at the same time. We have constructed an evolutionary narrative for Picasso's work that simply emphasizes the Eurocentric, neocolonial nature contained in the very concept of "primitive art." That is, we begin by thinking that Picasso first looked to classical Greek art, then to archaic Greek art, then to Iberian art, and finally to what we call "Black art." But, biased by a colonizing outlook, as we follow this primitivist crescendo from what is closest to "culture" to the most "savage," we have left out reference to ancient Egyptian art and Catalan Romanesque art, references that have emerged from this very same discourse.

What in fact is taking place then? Picasso's artist friends began "discovering" *art nègre* in 1905. That same year, the Louvre featured Iberian art, although it had exhibited it in earlier years as well. Picasso already had access to referents in ancient Egyptian art, and he "rediscovered" the Catalan Romanesque upon arriving in Gósol. Ardengo Soffici reports on Picasso's frequent visits to the ethnographic halls and antiquity galleries in the Louvre.[104] If we tie all of these factors together, they were all unfolding simultaneously, nearly in unison, along with the element of archaic Greek art and some influences from protohistoric Mediterranean art. The truth is that Picasso was not working with a specific ethnographic or cultural focus, but rather capturing something like a koine of everything that was considered "primitive art" during this foundational moment in modern art—even if he did not yet have a clear conception of what "primitive art" was. The probability of this version of events is bolstered by his nomadic, migrant, and transcultural nature. His way of positioning himself in relation to what we call "primitive art" is just that, transcultural. But I think that this other Picassoan transculturality cannot be isolated from his simultaneous uptake of other elements that acted jointly and in unison, and that ended up also becoming part of this transculturality: the work of El Greco, Cézanne, Gauguin, and even the rereading of Ingres.

Picasso, in his creative process, worked dialectically between his own development of a language and a synergy with the koine of "the primitive." But to assert that Picasso balanced common features of "primitive art" in his work is not new. I wrote about this possibility when studying *Carnet 7*.[105] To a certain extent, this was the thesis of Barbel Küster's 2003 *Matisse und Picasso als Kulturreisende*.[106] Spies nearly suggested this same idea.[107] Golding, in 1958, wrote that in 1906 the Louvre was so important to Picasso not just because of the galleries of Greek art but also because of the Etruscan art, Cycladic art, and Mesopotamian art.[108] Earlier, Goldwater introduced Picasso's syncretism in his foundational 1938 text, *Primitivism in Modern*

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[104] On accounts of Picasso's visits to the ethnographic galleries of the Louvre, see "1900–1905. Les premiers visites au Louvre de Picasso" (with contributions by Laura Couvreur, Malén Gual, and Gabriel Montua), in *Les Louvre de Pablo Picasso*, ed. Dimitri Salmon, exh. cat. (Paris: Louvre éditions; Musée Picasso-Paris; LienArt, 2021), 2–37. Note the comments on contributions by Stéphanie Barbier collected in the text, and of Jean-François Rodríguez, "Soffici et Picasso, des Étrusques aux Ibères, aller et retour. Primitivisme y modernité," *La Revue des revues* 2, no. 58 (2017): 34–63. It is very significant that Soffici comments on Picasso's early interest in Egyptian and Phoenician antiquities, the sphynxes, basalt idols, papyri, and brightly painted sarcophagi, and in archaic Greek art and Assyrian-Babylonian art.

[105] Carmona, "Cahier de dessins," 21–92.

[106] Bärbel Küster, *Matisse und Picasso als Kulturreisende. Primitivismus und Anthropologie um 1900* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003).

[107] Spies, *Picasso sculpteur*, 46; Eng.: 46.

[108] John Golding, "The 'Demoiselles d'Avignon,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 100, no. 662 (May 1958): 154–63.

Painting.[109] And, even more important, Zervos proposed this as well, probably prompted by Picasso himself.[110]

When Barr wrote of "Negro art" in 1939, at the start of Picassoan modernity, disregarding Iberian art and other factors, Picasso objected, something he rarely did with his critics.[111] The art historians in Picasso's circle rushed in to offer alternatives. First, in 1941, there was the well-known essay by James Johnson Sweeney, "Picasso and Iberian Sculpture."[112] Iberian art became an officially consecrated Picassoan referent. The following year, 1942, Zervos published the second volume of his catalogue raisonné of Picasso's work.[113] In his introductory essay, he focuses on, what else, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. He wants to refute the concept of Picasso's "Negro Period" proposed by Barr, but in doing so he also reconsiders all of Picasso's relationship with "primitive art." According to Zervos, Picasso was not just interested in a single culture, he was interested in many, working in unison, as though the artist's wanderings through the archeological galleries of the Louvre had produced a polyphonic encounter of referents. Zervos even mentions art from cultures that we never consider when speaking of Picasso and "primitive art":

> The wide oscillations in his vast curiosity taken him from Ur to every continent. The power of the statues of Sumer and Akkad makes a strong impression on his imagination. He is continually carried away by enthusiasm by predynastic and dynastic sculpture and the sculpture of the first Egyptian empires. He also produces continual homages to the masterpieces of the Geometric and Archaic Periods of Greek art. Many visual works from his high period are still searching insistently for a new orientation: of the Hittites, the Horites, the Phoenicians, the Scythians, the Etruscans, the Sardinians. His gaze goes even further, to the ancient artworks of Central America, where he chooses those that lead his mind to the grounds of the infinite.[114]

If Zervos is right, then much remains to be examined. But, for now, let us look at one example of how Picasso's referents may be much more diverse than we have thought.

Head of a Young Woman [p. 189] is on display today in the collection of the Museo Reina Sofía. Daix dates it to fall 1906.[115] Palau to fall–winter of the same year.[116] It is an iconic work, a painting/manifesto. The female figure gives off a mysterious beauty, although Picasso has suppressed any anecdotal or narrative aspect and thus anything that could produce an eroticized relationship with what is represented in the painting. The only "trap" he lays for us is a certain melancholy in the intense gaze lost in space. It is a portal to enter the painting. But Picasso focuses on shapes. The background is neutral and does not make room for any transitive

109
Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Painting* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938).

110
Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 2: *Œuvres de 1906 à 1912* (Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1942), xlv.

111
Barr, *Picasso: Forty Years*, 60.

112
James Johnson Sweeney, "Picasso and Iberian Sculpture," *The Art Bulletin* 23, no. 3 (1941): 191–98.

113
Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 2.

114
Ibid., 2:xlv.

115
Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906*, cat. XVI:23.

116
Palau i Fabre, *Picasso: The Early Years*, cat. 1395.

sense. Each element of the figure, each aspect of her features, is a unit of meaning rendered as a graphic sign. The ear is nearly joined with the chin; the face is a mask; the nose is prism-like; the eyebrows are arched and simplified; the neck is cylindrical; the shoulders half-spheres. Picasso is already finding the relationship between the allusion to "the primitive" and the geometric suggestion of shapes. But what are the referents in his construction of this icon? We might think that the eyes point to the Romanesque art of the Virgen of Gósol [p. 223]. The oval face and the ear are a typical Picasso "borrowing" from Iberian art. The geometric condensation of the oval shapes of the face as a mask is "African." The hair is perhaps a reminder of when Picasso's female figures echoed the Venus figures of ancient painting. But the face also recalls Egyptian funerary masks, especially the most ancient. And something is still missing. The female figure in the painting is in a formal dialogue with the male figure of *Sarcophage des époux* (Sarcophagus of the Spouses), an Etruscan funerary sculpture from the late sixth century BCE, held at the Louvre. Again, Picasso takes the masculine and the feminine and moves visually along the gender fluid. And again, a seminal work by Picasso contains various "primitive" referents at the same time.

Following this premise of the synthesis or the koine of "the primitive," I would like to suggest that Picasso's *Self-Portrait* [p. 221] held at the Musée Picasso-Paris possesses a contemporary outlook. The *Self-Portrait* in Philadelphia may be more monumental and emphasize the idea of the "Picassoan self," representing the artist with his palette and brush in hand. And we already know that Picasso, when he represents himself as an artist, wishes to confirm and communicate his achievements—in this case his encounter with "primitive art" and his intellectual fusion with Gertrude Stein. But though I do not wish to set up a competition between the two self-portraits, the *Self-Portrait* in Paris, even with its smaller dimensions, has special and singular features. First, Picasso is nude. Picasso is his body. And this being nude and being body marks the epicenter of Picasso's 1906 poetics. The *non finito* continues to be a foundational element. The background is aniconic, but this time background and figure do not attempt to merge, and the abstract background does not take on emotional or transferrable qualities. The intensification of "primitivism" in Picasso meant leaving behind both of those quests. The figure is "sculptural," unlike his earlier nudes, and it creates an explicit sense of volume and three-dimensionality. The head is egg-shaped. The neck is cylindrical. The figures' adherence to geometrical shapes is something Picasso also took from Cézanne, but that fully develops when he embraces "primitivism." The presence of the artistic materials abounds on the canvas. Pierre Daix spoke of "hatching."[117] The sense of the tactile, so present in Berenson's

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117
Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906*, 318.

writing, again takes center stage, although in a different form, this time with an emphasis on roughness and "the primary."

The face-mask of the self-portrait is elliptical. The eyebrows form a basket-handle arch and are simplified. The eyes, a pointed oval shape like the head, expand their outlines and fix the gaze on an imaginary point. The left eyebrow joins the outline of the nose. The right side of the chin and the cheek join the ears. It is an identical formula, or at least nearly identical, to that of *Gertrude Stein*. It has always been assumed that this formula of the face-mask comes from Iberian art. *Hombre atacado por un león* (Man Attacked by a Lion), today at the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid,[118] tends to be held up as the model, as well as the well-known statue head from Cerro de los Santos, today at the Louvre.[119] But, as we saw, Palau introduced the reference to the Virgin of Gósol and, with it, allusions to Catalan Romanesque art. We are already in the presence of hybridization. The helmet-like shape of the hair receding in two pronounced dips echoes certain formulas from Egyptian art, particularly the figure of the seated scribe, which leads to the concept of syncretism. The eyes have been associated with Mesopotamian art.[120] Then there is the idea of the face-mask. This idea does not actually exist in Iberian art, and it has a minor presence in Romanesque art. The resemblance between Picasso's face and that of *Hombre atacado por un león* is strong. We could interpret the features of that Iberian figure as being a mask, but it seems unlikely that Picasso would have done so if the idea of the mask as an aesthetic quality, tied to the idea of "primitive art," were not in play among the first modern artists—and this idea would not circulate until Vlaminck and Derain's Fang mask did. The synthesis of all of these accumulated elements—that is, the graphic synthesis of Picassoan interculturality—took shape, almost like a trademark, in the famous head drawn in *Carnet 5*.[121]

Transfigurations: Sign and System in "Fondevila"

Daix dates the Musée Picasso-Paris's *Self-Portrait* to fall of 1906.[122] Palau dates it to the summer, presumably when Picasso returned from Gósol. Clearly this *Self-Portrait* is linked to many of his experiences in Gósol. The shapes of the face, the eyes, the clavicle, and the shoulders are very similar to those features in the figure of *Josep Fondevila (Étude)* [p. 243] in the FABA collection. But Palau dates this work to the winter of 1906–07, although Jaques Pi figures Picasso created it while in his retreat in the Pyrenees. These differing opinions are not trivial. In actuality, when paging through Palau's book, the drawing is placed among works it has no

[118] Johnson Sweeney, "Picasso and Iberian Sculpture," 191, fig. 2.

[119] Inventory number: AM943.

[120] Küster, *Matisse und Picasso*, 222 passim.

[121] Glimcher and Glimcher, *Je suis le cahier*, 41.

[122] Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906*, 322.

relationship to. Palau has a peculiar theory: he believes that the relationship between Fondevila, an old man, and Picasso was so intense that it left a powerful mark that would resonate in the artist for a long time. But so much so that Picasso would still remember Fondevila's nude figure and his features many months later? Picasso's works will continue to evoke Fondevila into 1907, and these evocations will merge with the graphic allusions to André Salmon. It is a peculiar case of the transmutation of images. We have spoken of masks and countenances. Now we may speak of transfiguration.

The Musée Picasso-Paris has a drawing titled Death-Mask of Josep Fondevila, which Palau himself linked to the face-mask of *Gertrude Stein*. As we know, Josep Fondevila was the innkeeper of Can Tempanada in Gósol. An ex-smuggler, Fondevila was, in Jaques Pi's estimation, already in his nineties when Picasso met him.[123] Their relationship was exceptionally intense, and it is often noted that Fondevila wanted to accompany Picasso to Paris when the artist left Gósol in haste.

The range of works that Picasso devoted to Fondevila is surprising. Once again, he is able to experiment with visual language, elaborating on an image of someone he loves. It is significant that a drawing of Fondevila is included in *Carnet 6* at the Musée Picasso-Paris (MPP1857): this sketchbook marks the transition from the Picasso of the Rose Period to the Picasso of 1906.[124] That is, Fondevila was lodged in Picasso's imaginary from the very moment he arrived in Gósol. One of the drawings in this sketchbook, made with admirable skill, portrays Fondevila in a *profil perdu*. This visual technique means two things. First, that Picasso held Fondevila up as a figurative referent in those works in which he wants to challenge the conventions of the figurative order created in the Renaissance. Second, that Picasso also granted Fondevila an iconic stature that in 1906 he will only confer upon female figures that he imbued with a certain emphasis on the scopic drive. The *Josep Fondevila* at the Met is a masterpiece in a register of visual language similar to the portraits of Leo and Allan Stein. Fondevila's head, previously in the collection of Marina Picasso, possesses the concise virtuosity of the classical interwar Picasso. He condenses the shapes, seeks out the unity of the arabesque, and leaves the eyes without pupils to avoid all narrative and emotional encounter with the man depicted. But if this drawing foreshadows the classical interwar Picasso, the black pencil portrait on lined paper at the Musée Picasso-Paris foreshadows Cubism. In that drawing, Picasso emphasizes the profile of the head and uses shading to create the effect of various surfaces. There is a clear face-mask effect in this drawing, and the union of the oval-shaped face with the ear, which Picasso is said to have borrowed from Iberian art, is also present. Fondevila contains the

[123] Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol*, 32.

[124] Brigitte Léal, ed., *Musée Picasso. Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*, vol. 1 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996), 108, cat. 6; in Glimcher and Glimcher, *Je suis le cahier*, this carnet or sketchbook is number 36.

very heart of Picasso's innovation. He also "used" his friend to consider a new encounter with sculpture. The small ceramic head at FABA [p. 242] is a singular piece that, besides recalling Paco Durrio and Gauguin, demonstrates how Picasso worked with a limited, concentrated, single volume of material, adding texture to the surface in an interplay of opposing sensations that no other sculptors had explored.[125] The piece related to this one that was cast by Vollard, now at the Hirschhorn Museum, reiterate these qualities.

Picasso also portrayed Fondevila as a nude. Even though he was an old man, Picasso proposed Fondevila as a conceptual alternative to the boys and girls he used to allude to a new Golden Age. This intellectual turn, expressed only in drawings, is particularly interesting. On lined paper, likely from a notebook, Picasso placed a nude Fondevila before a landscape. The association between the female nude and the landscape—which understands woman as nature—is well known in European painting. Feminist scholars of the nude have spoken out against this gender dynamic. Now it is as if Picasso wanted to relate Fondevila, this impassive being, to his territory, the nude possessing a certain idealistic, sublimating quality. But, again, a nude of Fondevila appears, unexpectedly, in *Carnet 1* (MP 1858) of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, which nonetheless is a sketchbook that Daix and Brigitte Léal date to fall of 1906, making it part of the moment that is of interest to us. In this sketchbook, Picasso reflects on the abstraction of bodies through basic, though anatomically suggestive, shapes. And on faces—not only face-masks but the face as the sum of graphic signs derived from physiognomy. In some drawings of heads, he returns to the use of the frontal gaze and Egyptian art (12 recto) whose stylistic properties—this is the Picasso who is seeking the koine of "the primitive"—join those of Iberian and Romanesque art. In another composition, he synthesizes the head we encountered in the *Self-Portrait* of the Musée Picasso-Paris. And on the recto of page 47 in this sketchbook, Fondevila makes an appearance. He appears as though he has been invited, months after he and Picasso parted. It is as if the artist—using Fondevila's image evoked as if in a revelatory dream—needed to catalyze the meaning of all of his searches and his dialogue with "primitive art." The face-mask of Fondevila in this small drawing is similar to those of *Gertrude Stein* and Picasso's *Self-Portrait*. This would not be the last evocation of Fondevila. The catalyzing effect of his image in Picasso's dialogue with "primitive art" would continue. One of the paths traveled by Fondevila will produce an encounter with the Pende masks and with Egyptian art, to produce the work-cum-manifesto, charcoal on paper, in the Menil Collection in Houston [p. 247]. Here, Fondevila's physiognomy is pure sign. A sign that, in turn, is the sum of signs. On its own, the graphic marks of the eyes, the nose, or any part of the face and bust do not possess

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125
Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, 1:455–61.

meaning. When they are joined together, the part and the whole, the gestalt produces the image of Fondevila. Picasso has finally been able to separate the representation of meaning from mimesis. This is modern art.

Fantasy and Phantasm: The Invention of "Primitive Art"

The creation of modern art in Picasso came about in an entirely synergetic relationship to what has been called "primitive art." Throughout this text, the term *primitive art* has appeared in quotation marks, modified in some way that indicates intellectual and ideological discomfort with its use. This way of writing the term, in scare quotes, has been common in studies on the topic since at least the 1940s. What is more, the first modern artists in Paris did not generally use this expression. The phrase "primitive art" did not begin to circulate until the anthropologist Franz Boas published his influential study in 1927.[126] I have also chosen *art nègre* over "Black art." This was in fact an expression of the era, used in the milieu of Picasso and his friends around 1906. They used *art nègre* to refer, as we know, not only to cultural objects from western sub-Saharan Africa but also—and sometimes without distinguishing between them—to art from "Oceania" and other regions. Despite writing in French, Jean Laude still placed *art nègre* in italics,[127] and Joshua Cohen does the same in his work in English.[128] The idea that modern art wrongfully appropriated "primitive art" had long existed; the objection was raised in the ambitious, daunting, and revealing project of William Rubin, with the support of Kirk Varnedoe, *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, presented at the MoMA in 1984. Critiques by James Clifford[129] and Thomas McEvilley,[130] among others,[131] had a particular impact. And they would merge with the critiques that would soon arrive from postcolonial and decolonial theory. This has become a classical subject both in historiographical and critical work. Clifford and McEvilley raised objections that must be kept in mind and that have forever changed how we think about the relationship between "the primitive" and "the modern." They critiqued and struck down in particular the discourse created by Rubin and the museology of the objects on display. But Picasso got the brunt of it. Appropriation of the forms of "primitive art" became the equivalent of the appropriation of natural and human resources in colonized countries. In a way, this idea elevated, through aesthetic idealism, the close relationship between the European appreciation of "primitive art" and colonial domination. Objects once considered fetishes were now presented as masterpieces, but without any recognition of authorship or cultural contextualization. There was a desire to make the viewer see these objects as pristine when in fact they had been for decades commercially exploited for their "primitiveness" and cleaved from their ethnographic and anthropological identities.[132] Today we know that when we talk about "primitive art" and, above all, *art nègre*, we are not speaking literally but rather referring to a construct through which the fantasy and phantasm of the first modern artists created a poetics. The fantasy of thinking that a pristine culture existed somewhere. And the phantasm of calling on the presence of "the other" subjected by colonization. Put another way, when we talk about the relationship between the avant-garde and "primitive art," we are in fact talking about the avant-garde and not about "primitive art." The notions of "primitive art" and *art nègre* are entirely divorced from the creators that we name and frame with those terms. They are inventions of Western modernity.

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[126] Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co, 1927).

[127] Jean Laude, *La Peinture française (1905–1914) et "l'art nègre". Contribution à l'étude des sources du fauvisme et du cubisme* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2006).

[128] Cohen, *The "Black Art" Renaissance*.

[129] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[130] Thomas McEvilley, *Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity* (New York: Documentext/McPherson & Company, 1992).

[131] Hal Foster, *Prosthetic Gods* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004); Foster, "'Primitive' Scenes," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (Autumn 1993): 69–102.

I find it surprising that many of these issues were already raised by Jean Laude in his famous, crucial 1968 study *La Peinture française (1905–1914) et "l'art nègre". Contribution à l'étude des sources du fauvisme et du cubisme*. Laude addressed the topic as both an art historian and an ethnographer, and his awareness of historically situated problems surrounding primitivism was not impeded by his formalist analysis of its relationship to the earliest modern art. Perhaps—although 1968 was a year of transformative resonances in France—postcolonial consciousness was not yet established in Europe, while in New York, in the 1980s, the situation was different, with the backdrop of the civil rights movement in African American communities.

All of this polemical historiography has for a long time left aside another historically observable fact. Key leaders in the anti-colonial movement, such as Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor, founders of the Négritude movement, saw from the start in Picasso's relationship with *art nègre* not a discrediting of the originary cultures of Africa but the opposite: a sublime valorization of the material culture of the colonized—material culture that colonizers scorned, dismissed, and used as justification for colonialism. Picasso's work was taken to Senegal, and even today there are important "African" exhibits on the artist.[133] However, Frantz Fanon's harsh critiques of Senghor may well have put a stop to this line of recognition for the positive relationship between Picasso and *art nègre*.

Even so, I still think that, alongside Philippe Dagen's contributions, the most revelatory work on this topic has been done by Patricia Leighten.[134] Anyone familiar with the young Picasso knows that his vital connection with libertarianism is the driving force behind his transformative sense of art, and it is especially important for the Picasso of 1906. Vlaminck and Picasso were in regular contact with anti-colonial groups, where admiration for *art nègre* or "primitive art" was without a doubt complex and contradictory, but there

132
Yaëlle Biro, *Fabriquer le regard. Marchands, réseaux et objets d'art africains à l'aube du XX^{e} siècle* (Dijon: Les Presses du Réel, 2018).

133
Guillaume de Sardes, ed., *Picasso à Dakar, 1972–2022* (Paris: Louison éditions, 2022).

134
See the works by Patricia Leighten cited in note 31.

was fundamentally a mechanism of opposition to imperialist and colonial values that contained, in a broad sense of the term, a political meaning, even if it was emotional and not militant. Recently, Ben Etherington has proposed a reinterpretation of primitivism as an aesthetic project formed in reaction against imperialist expansionism.[135] For Dagen, who views primitivism as a culturally broad concept, the pro-primitivist outlook, even if inextricably tied to colonial expansion, was an attempt to define a modernity that was an alternative to the modernity of techno-scientific and economic progress. He argues that what matters is "to study the processes by which the modern invents the *primitive*, its opposite, for what needs or necessities, by what intellectual and artistic operations. In other words: how is the fiction of the *primitive* created and how does it act?"[136]

This latter question is what we should ask ourselves about Picasso. When the Picasso of 1906 established a relationship with "the primitive," in his artistic milieu it was becoming an undeniable and valued aspect. Gauguin had stated that he wanted to be a primitive. Cézanne likewise considered himself the primitive of new painting. In 1906, *Notes analytiques sur les collections ethnographiques du musée du Congo* was published in Brussels. It stated that objects of African material culture possessed no aesthetic value.[137] But this was the same moment when Vlaminck, Matisse, Derain, perhaps Braque, and above all Picasso were experiencing the transformative revelation of "primitive art."

Subjective Archeology and Coloniality

It is difficult, if not impossible, to extract oneself from ideological and historiographic debates regarding the concept of "primitive art," but it is worth resituating Picasso in relation to the issue. Not to make him different or draw him away from a polemic that it is impossible to withdraw from. Nor to separate him (protect him, or pardon him) from possible negative critiques based on postcolonial thought, but rather because in Picasso the notion of "primitive art" is part of a poetics that is interwoven with his first definition of modern art. Here it is necessary to pause to consider something. Popular opinion holds that Picasso became involved in a dialogue with "primitive art" in 1907 when he began the process of creating *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. A good number of experts on the artist believe that his involvement truly got started upon his return from Gósol, in mid-August of 1906. It could be said, although most Picasso scholars do not frame it this way, that the mask in *Gertrude Stein* is the point of departure. But today, we might have the feeling that the presence of "primitive art" was latent in Picasso's referents even earlier.

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[135] Ben Etherington, *Literary Primitivism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

[136] Philippe Dagen, *Primitivismes. Une invention moderne* (Paris: Flammarion, 2019), 12.

[137] Philippe Dagen, *Le Peintre, le poète, le sauvage. Les voies du primitivisme dans l'art français* (Paris: Flammarion, 2010), 73.

Picasso's personal experience at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five was very different from that of Matisse or Derain when it came to addressing the relationship with the art of non-European cultures, especially regarding coloniality. Picasso was Andalusian. This meant that he was born in a place—like some other places in Mediterranean countries—strongly marked by conservative Catholicism, very much tied to political power, where, nonetheless, the presence—at times monumental—of Islamic heritage and hybrid forms between Islamic and Christian culture, such as Mudejar style, paradoxically marked cultural identity. Picasso was born in Málaga in the neighborhood of La Victoria—Natasha Staller knew to notice this—with a shrine for the veneration of a Gothic Virgin, a votive offering for the triumph of the Catholic kings over the Muslim Nasrid kingdom.[138] The city's major annual festival still celebrates this event. As Picasso grew up, Spain carried out a costly and sinister imperialist war in North Africa, in what is today Morocco. Despite that fact, residents of Málaga—and all Andalusians—could consider the Andalusian legacy as their own and could appreciate the aesthetic qualities of its material culture, even if they did not know who created the objects or their ritual function. Of course, the distance, in Mediterranean eyes, between the cultural products of the kingdoms of western sub-Saharan Africa and those of the Maghreb is significant. But Picasso had grown up knowing how to appreciate the art and quotidian objects of an "othered" culture.

For Picasso, the idea of coloniality could also have had different nuances than it would have for Matisse or Derain. Coloniality and the modern era are tied to the arrival in what is today America by the Kingdom of Castille. The so-called *crónicas de Indias* (chronicles of the Indies) are justifications for the conquest, sometimes expressed subjectively with first-person narratives. But they are on occasion complex. They may speak of paradise on earth upon arriving in what is today the Caribbean, or they may establish categories, though self-interested ones, of types of Indigenous people, including something similar to the myth of the "noble savage." But, if this first coloniality creates differences between Picasso, on one hand, and Matisse, Derain, and the Steins on the other, an even more significant distinction will be the fact that France and the United States were colonial powers on the rise and Spain imperial power was collapsing. In Spain, Picasso's entire youth was dominated by the so-called Crisis of '98—the loss of the last non-African Spanish colonies: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines, and the island of Guam—following the war with the United States. Stein recalled that she and Picasso debated this issue.[139] And this situation of the colonial "disaster" coincided with the perpetuation of reactionary atavistic aspects of society and with a country weighed down by its struggle to jump on the train of progress and modernity. I do not mean that Matisse or Derain were colonialists, something they may not even have considered. But that, in a significant way, in France coloniality was installed in the ideological apparatus of the state and was part of the creation of people's mentalities as a "feature" of the French nation, while in Picasso's Spain—although Catalonia was different—the idea of coloniality was marked by the stigma of failure and loss. Spain's neocolonial attempts in North Africa were, moreover, very unpopular. They were a complete economic disaster and led to terrible bloodshed and loss of life that affected mostly middle- and working-class families. Not only because of his libertarian ideas but also because of the historical circumstances of his country of origin, Picasso must have seen coloniality as highly negative.

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[138] Natasha Staller, *A Sum of Destructions: Picasso's Cultures and the Creation of Cubism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 18.

[139] Stein, "The Autobiography," 672.

This final point, although it is never discussed, must have affected his relationship with Iberian art. Today, thanks to the work of Cécile Godefroy, we have an in-depth understanding of Picasso's relationship with Iberian art.[140] And thanks to the research of Maria Luisa Catoni, we know that in Paris Picasso did not have to wait to encounter Iberian art at the oft-cited exhibit at the Louvre in 1905.[141] He had access to scholarly literature on Iberian art as early as 1903 and was able to view pieces at the Louvre at least as early as 1904. But there is more. When he saw Iberian art at the Louvre, it was not a first encounter, but a reunion. This is important: Picasso, in 1905, was rereading something he already knew, at least hypothetically, since 1901. As we know, he lived in Madrid, a second time, for several months that year and edited the magazine *Arte Joven*.[142] When he returned to Madrid, the Crisis of '98 was still very much alive. This was when he added to his particular understanding of libertarian ideology the premises of political and cultural regenerationism that had caught on with much of the Spanish intelligentsia. *Arte Joven*, besides connecting Madrid with Catalonia, registered that. This grasp of regenerationism, which has never been considered with regard to Picasso, was important for him, as in the long run it would be one of the reasons he would support the Second Spanish Republic and decide to create *Guernica*.

José Martínez Ruiz, whose pseudonym was Azorín, was an important collaborator with *Arte Joven*. A writer from the Generation of '98, a reader of Nietzsche, and something of a libertarian in his youth, he also felt the winds of regenerationism. In some of his texts and novels, while Picasso was in Madrid, Azorín refers passionately to Iberian art from Cerro de los Santos.[143] He even states that he feels he sees in the young women of La Mancha of his time the mark of the ladies of Iberian art of yesteryear. It was a sort of paraphrase. It is not wrong to think that Picasso would have been familiar with Azorín's writing. But not just that. Iberian art could be seen in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional and in the Museo del Prado, and at the height of the Crisis of '98, it had become a "national issue."[144] Despite not representing all of the peoples and cultures of the Iberian Peninsula, public authorities framed it as the first historical manifestation of the culture of a state now experiencing a crisis of self-esteem and confidence. Displays of Iberian art were included in numerous international exhibitions that Spain participated in,[145] and this trend, which cooled down in the 1920s and 1930s, would extend to early Francoism.[146] It is therefore probable that Picasso was familiar with Iberian art before encountering (or re-encountering) it in Paris. Iberian art was not of interest to Matisse, Derain, or Vlaminck. For Picasso, however, it was the key in his relationship with originary cultures. It has always been assumed that Iberian art "reached" Picasso in a special way because it came from his own cultural space. Neither Matisse nor Derain nor Vlaminck had a connection to "primitive" art objects from their own cultures of origin. And in Picasso, his identification with Iberian art, as we have seen, was not just an individual matter—it affected powerful intellectual and political currents in Spain at the time. I think that perhaps Matisse, Derain, and Vlaminck could not see "primitive art" without having present the feeling of the exotic. This placed them, on a subjective level, always "outside" of the objects they were working with. Through his link to Iberian art, Picasso experienced on an identity level the relationship with "primitive art." Or at least, his subjectivity was not foreign to the possible cultural background of those objects, even if he was not precisely familiar with that background. And if Iberian art pointed him to the question of identity, *art nègre*—particularly the masks—led him to reconnect with the ritual and the sacred, or at least with the sense of mystery and the "magic" of existence.

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[140] Cécile Godefroy, Hélène Le Meaux, and Pierre Rouillard, eds., *Picasso Ibero*, exh. cat. (Santander: Fundación Botín; Madrid: La Fábrica, 2021).

[141] Maria Luisa Catoni, "Parigi 1904: Picasso iberico e Les Demoiselles d'Avignon," *Bollettino d'arte*, nos. 62–63 (1990): 117–39.

[142] Pablo Ruiz Picasso and Francesc d'Assís Soler, *Arte Joven: se publicará los domingos* (Madrid), no. 1 (March 31, 1901) – no. 4 (June 1, 1901). The introductory issue was dated March 10, 1901.

[143] José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín), *La Voluntad* [1902] (Madrid: Castalia, 1989); see Liborio Ruiz Molina, "La arqueología en *La Voluntad* de Azorín," *Yakka*, no. 12 (2002): 159–78. Picasso was in contact with Azorín while he was writing this novel.

[144] Liborio Ruiz Molina, "Azorín, Lasalde y la arqueología: el Cerro de los Santos y la misteriosa Elo," *Verdolay. Revista del Museo Arqueológico de Murcia*, no. 9 (2005): 195–214.

Intercessors

Picasso did not so much make statements about "primitive art" as he did about "Black art," and not so much "Black art" as "masks." He spoke at a time when the first round of debate on the topic had already come to a close, and he was especially explicit and revelatory in his old age. As was to be expected, some of these statements have long been associated with *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Now, they can shed light on an important facet of 1906 Picasso.

In a letter to Apollinaire, he states that exoticism does not interest him at all.[147] But his first, extremely brief statement about "Black art" has become famous: "L'art nègre? Connais pas!" It appeared in the magazine *Action*, in 1920, in a collection of "Opinions sur l'art nègre."[148] Some contemporary critics have seen in this denial not a *boutade*, but proof of his awareness.[149] The objects that the first modern artists appropriated had nothing to do with the concept of the artwork that emerged in the late eighteenth century and that they, perhaps unadvisedly, bestowed on it. Picasso wanted to restore those objects to their original condition—one he considered a higher condition—of ritual objects. That implied a certain ethnographic knowledge on Picasso's part, but we do not know where it came from. Even so, in 1920, the shift in the gaze began to seem as inevitable as it was questionable. Apollinaire advocated for the authorship of fetish objects to be recognized and for them to be included in the Louvre's collections. Obviously, however, those statements from Apollinaire, who passed away in 1918, were from before 1920. In the same pages of *Action*, Juan Gris argued for recognizing *art nègre* as an anti-idealist art animated by a religious spirit. The outlook had changed since the start of the century. Marius de Zayas's views on "Negro art" had been disconcerting or contradictory.[150] Carl Einstein had published *Negerplastik* in Leipzig in 1915. A new edition of his text was published in Munich in 1920. Were Picasso and his friends familiar with these works? Either way, although Einstein resituated *art nègre* based on cultural respect and the contextual meaning of the pieces, he readily understood that artists from the beginning of the century would have viewed those pieces in formalist terms. As noted earlier, in 1927 Franz Boas would publish his essay on "primitive art." The denomination was firmly established, while he simultaneously spoke of the manifestations of primeval art on its own terms. That did not mean he did not accept that the products of "primitive art" could be appreciated based on a Eurocentric conception of beauty. The Surrealists would add yet another twist to the matter.

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[145] Trinidad Tortosa Rocamora, "La cultura ibérica en las exposiciones internacionales/universales y su repercusión en la arqueología europea," in *150 años con los íberos (1871–2021)*, ed. Rubí Sanz Gamo, Lorenzo Abad Casal, and Blanca Gamo Parras (Albacete: Diputación de Albacete, 2021), 55–62.

[146] Sonia Gutiérrez Lloret, "Memorias de una Dama. La Dama de Elche como lugar de Memoria," in *El franquismo y la apropiación del pasado. El uso de la historia, de la arqueología y de la historia del arte para la legitimación de la dictadura*, ed. Francisco José Moreno Martín (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2017), 67–92.

[147] Guillaume Apollinaire, "Propos de Pablo Picasso," in *Picasso/Apollinaire. Correspondance*, ed. Pierre Caizergues and Hélène Seckel (Paris: Gallimard/Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 201–2.

[148] "Opinions sur l'art nègre," *Action. Cahiers individualistes de philosophie et d'art* 1, no. 3 (April 1920): 25.

[149] Jacques Howlett, "L'art nègre? Connais pas!," *Présence Africaine*, nos. 10–11 (1951), 85–90.

Following Picasso's laconic and surprising message of 1920, his opinions on the subject did not become public until Françoise Gilot's publication in 1965.[151] Only in 1945, very briefly, did Kahnweiler recall a conversation with Picasso from which he deduced that the artist was only interested in *la naiveté absolute dans l'art* and the absence of all stylization, be it "Chaldean," "Roman," or even "Black."[152] The statements that Gilot compiles are very well known. But it is worth recalling them now. Picasso said that he had been interested in "Black art" because he was against what was called "beauty" in the museums. At that time, he recalls: "for most people a Negro mask was an ethnographic object.… Men had made those masks and other objects for a sacred purpose, a magic purpose, as a kind of mediation between themselves and the unknown hostile forces that surrounded them … At that moment I realized that this was what painting was all about. Painting isn't an aesthetic operation; it's a form of magic designed as a mediator between this strange, hostile world and us, a way of seizing power by giving form to our terrors as well as our desires." And, in conclusion, Picasso adds: "Then people began looking at those objects in terms of aesthetics, and now that everybody says there's nothing handsomer, they don't interest me any longer. If they're just another kind of aesthetic object, then I prefer something Chinese."[153]

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[150] Marius de Zayas, *African Negro Art: Its Influence on Modern Art* (New York: Modern Gallery, 1916).

[151] Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, 266.

[152] Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Huit entretiens avec Picasso," *Le Point. Revue artistique et littéraire*, no. 42 (October 1952): 22–30.

Picasso shared similar ideas, as we know, with André Malraux. Statements to this effect were published the year of the artist's death, although Malraux had likely recorded them in the 1960s. At that time, Picasso stated: "The masks weren't just like any other pieces of sculpture. Not at all. They were magic things. But why weren't the Egyptian pieces or the Chaldean? We hadn't realized it. Those were primitives, not magic things. The Negro pieces were *intercesseurs*.... the fetishes were used for the same thing. They were weapons. To help people avoid coming under the influence of spirits again, to help them become independent."[154] I believe that criticism has never taken this statement from Picasso seriously. He was recalling a distant point in his past. The formalist paradigm of modernism prevented modern art that wished to be transitive and transcendent from being seen as valid. Picasso seemed less modern if he focused his work from the perspective captured by his opinions expressed here. He spoke of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* as an exorcising painting. Why not begin to understand and see *Gertrude Stein*, the *Self-Portrait* at the Musée Picasso-Paris, or *Head of a Young Woman* at the Museo Reina Sofía as "interceding" figures, as a "form of magic" that saves us from a hostile world and returns us to an originary place through the forms of primeval art?

The Secret: Photographic Iconography of a Painting

It is exciting to know that Gertrude Stein always kept *Nude with Joined Hands* with her.[155] We have no comments on the reasons for such fidelity, if fidelity ever needs reasons. Might it be because the painting could have been a portrayal of Fernande, and Gertrude seemed to have had a special feeling toward her? Or because it was a painting with a singular language, different from everything else Picasso produced at that time? In the catalogue of Picasso's works, there are many paintings from 1906 of nudes that evoke Fernande's corporeality. But none of them is as concise and conceptual. The woman in the painting is not carrying out any domestic or personal task. The artist does not appear to eroticize what he has represented—or if he does, the eroticism remains latent, which is rare in the Picasso of 1906. The figure in the painting simply emerges from the background and concentrates on herself. The gesture even makes it seem a demure image. It is said that *Nude with Joined Hands* is an unfinished painting. It is true that the figure's right foot is merely blocked out. It is also said that Picasso sold the

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Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, 266.

154
Malraux, *Picasso's Mask*, 10–11.

155
See the comment by Cécile Debray, in Cécile Debray et al., eds., *Matisse, Cézanne, Picasso… L'aventure des Stein*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2011), 84.

painting to Stein as soon as he returned from Gósol, while he was finishing her portrait. Would Gertrude buy an unfinished painting? Would she give such space in her life to a *non finito*?

The earliest photographs[156] of 27 rue de Fleurus, from around 1914, following the split between Leo and Gertrude—and Alice[157] and Gertrude's refurbishment of the place—show the painting freestanding and unframed, as though it were floating on the wall.[158] On the motley walls full of key works by Cézanne, Matisse, and Picasso himself, *Nude with Joined Hands* is positioned with a distinct personality. In another, somewhat later, photograph, the painting is framed,[159] soberly—in an attempt to stand out from its powerful companions. A photo by Man Ray, dated 1921, shows Gertrude writing; on her desk, an African sculpture and two candlesticks. Across from her, *Nude with Joined Hands*. Alice opens the door. The staging of the protagonists in the photo—and I include the painting as protagonist—could not be less innocent.[160] In 1921, the distance between Gertrude and Pablo was evident. Fernande had disappeared from their lives a decade prior. Stein had come to be a great defender of Juan Gris. But May Ray makes us see that when Gertrude was writing and lifted her gaze, she could see *Nude with Joined Hands*. In 1934, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, another photo appears.[161] Now, inside one of the sitting rooms in the Stein residence, a pilaster in the wall creates two symmetrical, opposing sections: the ideal dichotomy for a conflict of the soul. It is obvious that the pieces have been placed on the wall in a studied manner. Four paintings in each section playing with similarities in size. The pieces in the upper part are difficult to identify. No matter. We are interested in the comparison set up in the bottom part. In the photo, to the viewer's left, *La Femme de l'artiste dans un fauteuil* (The Artist's Wife in an Armchair) by Cézanne, created between 1878 and 1888, is associated with *Nude with Joined Hands*. And, on the other side, to the viewer's right, *Gertrude Stein* is associated with *Young Girl with a Flower Basket* from 1905, both by Picasso. In this juxtaposition, *Young Girl with a Flower Basket* accentuates its sharp naturalism and its beauty marked by the sordid. *Nude with Joined Hands* does not deny sensuality, but it distances itself from naturalism. What does it mean for Gertrude to have associated *Nude with Joined Hands* with a portrait of Madame Cézanne? Does she want to propose a Cézannian reading of the work? It is likely.

In 1938, Gertrude again posed by the work. That is approximately the date of photos by Cecil Beaton that—displaying the walls of the Steins' new Parisian residence on rue Christine—indicate that her tastes have changed. Fernande had already published, in installments, *Picasso et ses amis*. The relationship between Picasso and Stein had taken a sharp turn. She had sharply criticized Picasso's poems and, what is worse, had not displayed any reservations about General Franco's coup d'état. Picasso

[156] Although unrelated to the comments laid out here, on the importance of Stein's iconography in photos, see Cécile Debray, *Gertrude Stein, portraits singuliers. Man Ray, Van Vechten, Cecil Beaton* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais, 2011).

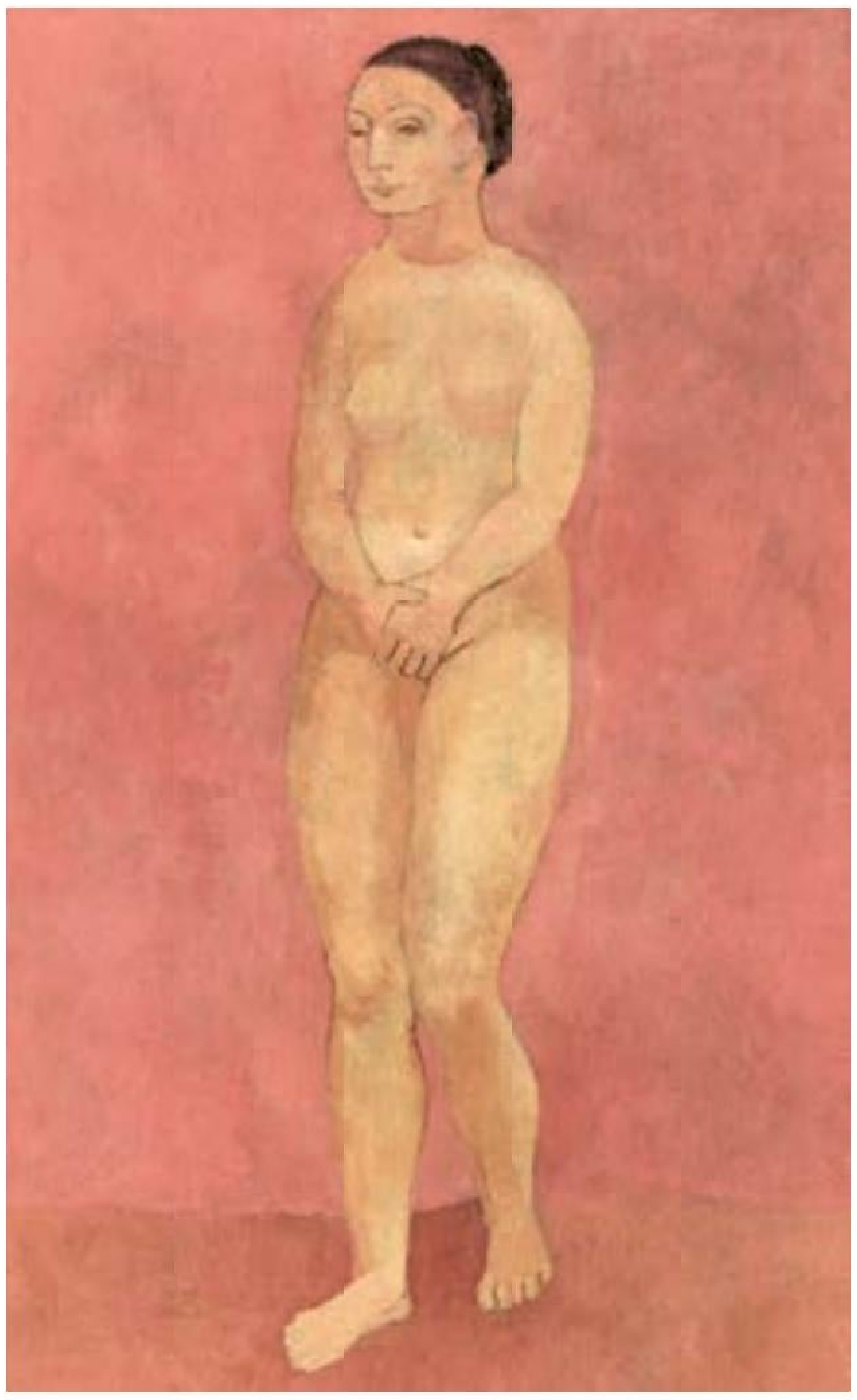
[157] Alice B. Toklas (1877–1967), writer and contemporary cultural figure, was Gertrude Stein's partner from 1907 to 1946, the year Gertrude passed away.

[158] Vincent Giroud, *Picasso and Gertrude Stein* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 37, fig. 38.

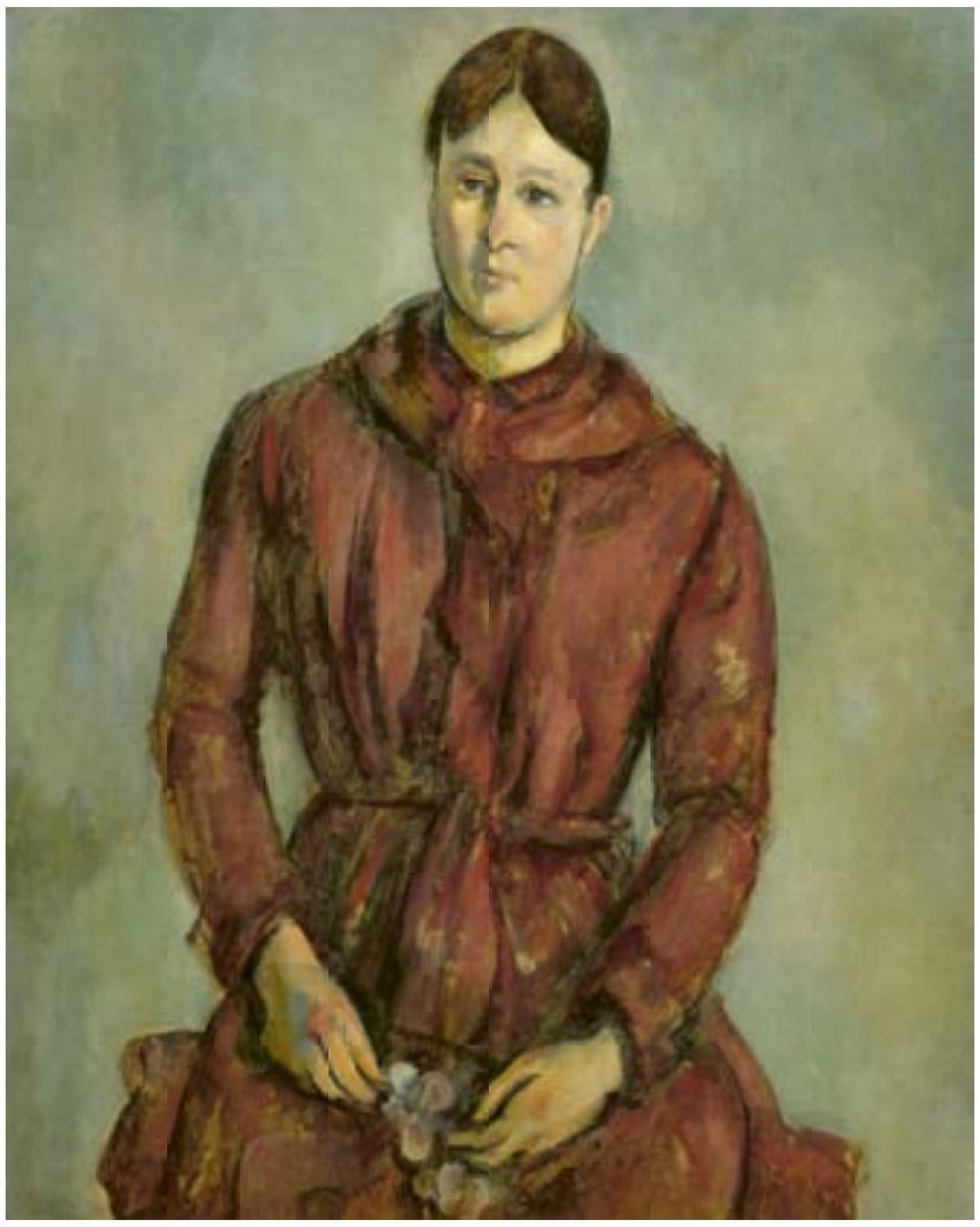
[159] Ibid., 36, fig. 36.

[160] Reproduced in part in Stein, *The Autobiography*, ii.

[161] Bernard Faÿ, "L'atelier de Gertrude Stein," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Courrier européen de l'art et de la curiosité* (Paris), 6th series, vol. 11, January 1, 1934, ill. p. 239.



Nude with Joined Hands
1906



Paul Cézanne
Madame Cézanne en robe rouge
(Madame Cézanne in a Red Dress)
1888–90

worked actively against Franco. Spain was plunged into a civil war, and Gertrude and Pablo were in opposite political camps, as they would be again when World War II broke out. But there are two especially suggestive photographs by Beaton. In one of them, Gertrude, sitting at her desk, looks at the camera. Behind her, there are two paintings by Juan Gris. But, in greater focus in the shot, we see the portrait that Picasso made of her in 1906, along with the small self-portrait of the artist himself as a one-eyed peasant (or with one blind eye), now at the Met. The metaphor of blindness in Picasso is complex. Stein's intentions in creating this pairing are without a doubt malicious, although we cannot pin down its meaning. What is important is that despite the time that had passed and the disagreements, for Stein, "1906" and her relationship with Picasso would continue to be present. Therefore, another photo by Beaton cannot but interest us. It is a shot from another angle of the same scene as before. Now we see what is at Gertrude's back. We see works by Picasso related to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, but above all we see *Nude with Joined Hands* freestanding, without a frame, placed under a scalloped arch, as though it were a religious painting in a church, presiding over the room. The painting's placement in the living space of the now mature writer (she was sixty-four at the time) speaks for itself of the piece's importance in her personal and intellectual trajectory.

In any case, the importance of *Nude with Joined Hands* in Stein's photographic iconography does not correspond to the work's unjust or limited critical fortune in other contexts. In contemporary documents about its presence in galleries and exhibitions, the work always seems out of place. It also appears enclosed in an oppressive frame. Is this work so singular that it is not easy to even present it to the public or associate it with other pieces? Photographic reproductions tend to be low quality and do not reveal the complex visual quality of the surface of the painting—anyone seeing a reproduction will not immediately appreciate it.

Words on the Ineffable

As we know, in 1946, Alice inherited *Nude with Joined Hands* from Gertrude. Twenty-two years later, having not particularly piqued the curiosity of art historians or critics, it was purchased by the Museum of Modern Art Syndicate. Finally, William S. Paley bought the work as part of his collection to donate it to MoMA in 1990. Perhaps due to this being its biography, the painting was not mentioned by William Rubin in his monumental volume dedicated to Picasso's works at the MoMA.[162] But it did not appear among the masterworks of Picasso at the MoMA in 1997 either.[163] It does appear, logically, in the list of pieces commented on by Rubin in 1992 in the catalogue created to thank Paley for his donation, although in the museum's press release for the exhibition and publication, it is not mentioned as one of the principal works.[164] The conclusion is clear: *Nude with Joined Hands* has been considered important within Picasso's production but not a masterpiece. And yet, it is. At least, it is a decisive piece in Picasso's first definition of modern art. It could be that the painting has not attracted the notice of historians, critics, and museum scholars for various reasons. The main one, I believe, is this: the work does not have a place in the historical narrative outlined about Picasso. Moreover, it cannot be easily associated with the notion of classicism, or the influence of El Greco, or the concept of "primitivism." And finally, there is nothing in the piece that situates it in the until now inevitable march toward *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. But its distance from all of these is a sign of its exceptional nature.

In any case, it is necessary to pause and consider Rubin's comments from 1992. The truth is that he resists seeing *Nude with Joined Hands* as a complete entity. He identifies the piece with a representation of Fernande. But he suggests that in the painting there has been a move from the "heroic mood" of *Boy Leading a Horse* to what he calls "intimate and lyrical classicism," of a "linear refinement" in debt to both Ingres and the drawings of ancient Greek vessels used in personal ablutions and baths. Again, Picasso's transculturality, even if it is not recognized as such. For Rubin, the joined hands produce the impression of distance and psychological enclosure. He finds the figure's face to be "archaizing" and, he emphasizes, "almost orientalized."[165] It is worth recalling here that Cécile Debray commented that this face was a stylization similar to Roman effigies and that that was what allowed Picasso to finish *Gertrude Stein*.[166] This makes me think that the work was begun in Gósol and finished in Paris, as Picasso's interculturality becomes evident in each comment.

Rubin adds something suggestive from another angle: the execution of the work is notable for the brilliant transparency, nearly watercolor-like, of the flesh tones of the figure and the background, making the materiality of the work practically disappear, which projects a sense of ineffable fragility. And he says two more particularly significant things. The first is that the face of the figure, in its synthetic realization, is nearly a mask. And the second he barely hints at, but it is important: he says that that the background and the figure at some areas in the composition seem to merge. The first point is worth underscoring because it leaves the door open to considering the work's relationship with "primitive art," while the second point, on the fusion of background and figure, is *already* invoking one of the fundamental principles of Cubism. And this fusion of background and figure had previously been pointed out with regard to *Two Youths*.

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[162] William Rubin, *Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art: Including Remainder-Interest and Promised Gifts* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972).

[163] Kirk Varnedoe and Pepe Karmel, *Picasso: Masterworks from the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1997).

[164] William Rubin and Matthew Armstrong, *The William S. Paley Collection* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1992).

[165] Ibid., 104.

[166] See Debray et al., eds., *Matisse, Cézanne, Picasso*, 84.

The relationship between Gósol and Cubism was suggested early on in the historiography.[167] But none of those suggestions included a link to *Nude with Joined Hands*. I raised the question myself in 2006.[168] We can juxtapose *Nude with Joined Hands* and some Cubist paintings from the periods we generally refer to as analytical Cubism and hermetic Cubism, a moment when Picasso, especially in Cadaqués, was defining "pure painting," around 1910. In Cubist paintings from this time, with the motif of a standing woman—such as those at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery of Buffalo or the National Gallery of Art in Washington today—we see varying scales or developments that range from the motif appearing recognizably to nearly disappearing altogether. But in either case, the fusion of background and figure—crucial for dissolving the visual order of the Renaissance—was realized through the homogenous and syncopated treatment of the entire surface of the canvas, using Cézannian "stages," with the rhythmic, though random, treatment of angular forms and the extreme use of color in a cameo of sepias. In *Nude with Joined Hands,* Picasso had intuited the fusion of background and figure through slippages in the chromatic field of reds and rose tones—not ochre—from which he made the pale flesh tone of the figure emerge. Also decisive for the encounter between background and figure was the evenly evanescent treatment of the entire surface of the canvas. In a manner like Cézanne, but distinct from Cubism, the outline is broken up into small interrupted fragments, creating the sensation of merging with the background.

An "Other" Path Toward Modern Art

There is, therefore, something powerful that connects *Nude with Joined Hands* to hermetic Cubism. However, that is not the path to go down. It is better now to locate *Nude with Joined Hands* as the crucial work in Picasso's first definition of modern art. In this piece is the start of a path toward a new art that is not the usual line traced toward *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, but rather a parallel path that leads to *Petite figure* (*Fetiche*).

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[167] Barr, *Picasso: Forty Years*, 59–60; Rosenblum, "Picasso in Gósol," 263–75; Palau i Fabre, "The Gold of Gósol."

[168] Carmona, "De Gósol al Cubismo."

As in other crucial works by Picasso, we have before us a process and a constellation of concurrent ideas, not, or not only, an isolated final work. *Nu aux mains serrées* (Nude with Clasped Hands), in the Art Gallery of Ontario, is a gouache on oil in which Picasso proposes a simultaneously classical and naturalist take on the iconic motif he is working on. Just as with the other works mentioned above, the Picasso of 1906 foreshadowed the so-called classical Picasso. A sense of distancing and simplicity dominates the work. But Fernande's body is represented with attention to her specific features. The closed eyes draw the figure into herself and isolate her from the scopic drive of the viewer, while they also introduce a hint of melancholy that is never out of place in classical art. The natural shapes of the female body in the Ontario gouache become sensual forms in the work in the Eugene and Margaret McDermott Art Fund [p. 141], today at the Dallas Museum of Art. Never before had Picasso been so explicit in his representation of some physical aspects of a woman's body, but at the same time the entire figure plays with curved designs, attempting now not an obvious sensual metaphor, but a careful construction of forms. Picasso displays the dialectic between satisfying the scopic drive and graphic work with forms and figures that are valid on their own in their evocation of abstract forms and figures. Again, the face tends toward introspection rather than communication with the viewer. Likely because although Picasso is explicit in detailing the female body, in theory he is working on the basis of the iconographic image of the Venus pudica.

In *Nude with Joined Hands*, the figure's head can appear superimposed or added to the body. The difference in color between the head and body makes us perceive the dichotomy between the two elements, although in the end they are perfectly linked by the way in which the cylindrical form of the neck fits onto the hemispherical form of the shoulders. Picasso, again, has turned the gaze into a blot of color. Although a face without eyes is a mask. The simplification of the facial features draws our attention. They are so concise that they appear to be simple graphic markings. The face is condensed into itself. It forms an egg shape with two elements: the face and the cap of hair. All of these elements bring to mind yet again Vlaminck and Derain's Fang mask. But Picasso, of course, tested out a variation of this solution. It is held at the Art Institute of Chicago, provided by the Susan and Lewis Manilow Collection. Picasso's idea here is to highlight with graphite the figure's volumes and facial features. The three-dimensionality is evident. But the primitivist synthesis continued to be what guides the shape to its final form.

The constellation of works surrounding *Nude with Joined Hands* cites yet another set of compositions. We might have the sensation that the point of departure was in a drawing representing three standing female figures. Three quietist, hieratic figures. Of the three, Picasso finally chose the most "primitivist." *Standing Nude in Front of a Red Arch* at the Barnes Foundation, meanwhile, is an oil painting that seems like a watercolor sketch. The figure appears under an arch in front of a red curtain. Perhaps Picasso wanted to create another of his works engaging a female nude and a domestic scene. By placing the figure under a segmental arch, it alludes to a peculiar trace of religious art. In two drawings from a sketchbook at the Musée Picasso-Paris (MPP1857), he uses the lines in a surprising way to create the figure's proportions. Picasso's interest in anthropometry will come through in a crucial way in this work and those derived from it. In one of these drawings, Picasso worked with a simple line, creating a sort of ideogram. In the other, he worked with shadows, accenting volumes and the sensation of the sculptural.

But, in the end, in all of these works, like the one in the MoMA, Picasso is incorporating and modifying the model of *la poseuse*. That is why *Nude with Joined Hands* can be linked to the works by Georges Seurat on this theme, not with the large painting at the Barnes Foundation, but, above all, the small studies housed at the Musée d'Orsay, the Met, and the National Gallery in London. Naturally, I am referring to the representation of the standing figure. Seurat's pointillist technique means that in these works, very early on, he presents a questioning of the relationship between background and figure that was systematized in Quattrocento visual culture. The entire surface of the canvas is homogenous, and viewing it close up reveals that there is no precise limit between body and space. But Seurat cannot renounce the environment, and he contextualizes models who are in fact undressed women, contemporary to when the work was created.[169] Compared to them, we sense something arcane in Picasso's *Nude with Joined Hands*. With the female body as a vehicle, the comparison reveals that while Seurat's modernity has the contemporary as its paradigm, modernity for the Picasso of 1906 has as its paradigm the originary, the "primitive." Seurat's *poseuse* lives in a historically situated time and space. Picasso wants to understand his *poseuse* beyond notions of time and place.

In an intermediate point between Seurat's *La Poseuse* and Picasso's *Nude with Joined Hands* is Matisse's painting *Académie bleue*, also called *Nude Study in Blue*, created in 1899 or 1900, today in the collection of the Tate Modern.[170] The iconographic similarity between the female figure in Matisse and the one in Picasso is suggestive. Matisse's work is an admirable free chromatic exercise that redirects Post-Impressionism early on toward Fauvism. It abstracts the model, robbing her of any characteristic as a subject. It presents an abstract background without emotional or conceptual qualities. It wants to be only chromatic sensation itself—which is already a lot. But Matisse is carrying out a rewriting of a typical academic exercise. This leads us to think that Picasso was too. *Nude with Joined Hands* alludes to his academic formation just as his paintings of adolescents did. There is something close to *Nachträglichkeit* or *après-coup* in this Picassoan displacement. It is as though the "trauma" of his academic formation, which made him a child prodigy and (too) virtuosic artist, were overcome when he diverts those resources to create a new art under the cover—for him an ideologically healing cover—of being in pursuit of the primeval.

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[169] Linda Nochlin, *Representing Women* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 217–37.

[170] Ronald Alley, *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art, Other Than Works by British Artists* (London: Tate Gallery, 1981), 491.

But what does Picasso want in *Nude with Joined Hands*? If the comparison with Seurat and Matisse reveals underlying aspects in the work, an analogy with Cézanne will be revelatory.

The relationship between Picasso and Cézanne will always be one of the great topics in the creation of modern art. With the exception of Barr, Picasso's observation of Cézanne is nearly always placed in the Cubist context.[171] And yet, in the Picasso of 1906, he is especially significant. In *Two Youths* at L'Orangerie we have established the links to El Greco and Cézanne's bathers. Now a different perspective is of interest. I would like to relate the morphology of *Nude with Joined Hands* to several portraits by Cézanne in which he used his wife as a figurative motif. Picasso was able to see one of these pieces in the Steins' home. He also was able to see portraits of Madame Cézanne in Vollard's gallery, and we have yet to establish if this type of work was included in the salons that Cézanne sent works to in 1905 and 1906. There are various pieces we could consider here, but it is worth focusing on one: *Madame Cézanne en robe rouge* (Madame Cézanne in a Red Dress), created between 1880 and 1890, currently at the Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand [p. 65]. The work belonged to Vollard at least until 1912; importantly, years later, it belonged to Paul Guillaume.

Cézanne presents a lone figure, perhaps seated on a bench, against a purely pictorial and chromatic background. This ties the work powerfully to the one by Picasso. Cézanne does not attempt, however, to fuse background and figure, but a fusion does take place as a result of the loose, open style and Cézanne's own technique. All of Cézanne's mature work is a compromise between identifying a solid structure in the motif, and therefore in the painting, and the changing vibration of a free yet systematic brushstroke. An entire theory of knowledge can be deduced from that compromise, but so as not to go too far in that direction and instead focus on the morphology, the structure, of the figure portrayed in *Madame*

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[171] Barr, *Picasso: Forty Years*, 59–60.

Cézanne en robe rouge, we easily discover an entire interplay of concurrent shapes. The head is egg-shaped, the curtain of hair evokes an ellipse, the neck is a cylinder, the scarf over her shoulders a truncated cone, the upper and lower torso are also truncated conical shapes, and the upper part—the shoulders, arms, and hands—create a circular shape that rests at the height of the pubis. This morphological condensation in Cézanne reveals to us the morphological condensation that Picasso puts forth in *Nude with Joined Hands*. The figure's head is a sphere cut into a spherical cap by the hair. Both creators join the shapes of the chin and cheek to the ear. The neck in Picasso's figure is also a cylinder. The breasts are spheres. The joining of the trapezius, arms, and hands is expressed in an oval figure that in Picasso will become a sign. The figure's thighs are spindle-shaped and come together with other spindle-like forms through the spheres of the knees. The morphology of Cézanne's and Picasso's works clearly tends toward the same concise figures.

By drawing the arms in to the sides of the body, Picasso creates a more compact shape, one that echoes the schematic configurations of "primitive" sculpture. The morphology of *Nude with Joined Hands* could be associated with that of some of the *damas oferentes*, women bearing offerings, known as the Lady of Cerro de los Santos. It is worth introducing here two pieces from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid (MAN), one seated [p. 212] and the other standing (MAN 7596). No one has suggested the possible relationship of *Nude with Joined Hands* with Iberian art. And that relationship is, for now, just a suggestion. A suggestion or a necessary comparison. The Louvre holds important pieces from Cerro de los Santos.[172] Just one of them could be a *dama oferente*, but it is damaged and broken; we cannot get a sense of the formal synthesis that interests us here. Nor were there in the 1941 agreements between the French and Spanish governments to exchange works of art—which included the return of the Dama de Elche to Spain—examples of Iberian art that fit the typology of the *dama oferente*.[173] For nationalist ideological reasons, Iberian art—and especially the Lady of Cerro de los Santos—was included in many international expositions. It appears that none of them reached Paris around 1906. All of this would seem to be discouraging when it comes to establishing a relationship between *Nude with Joined Hands* and the works of Iberian art mentioned here. But there is something to tip the scales in the other direction. A number of postcards were made of the Lady of Cerro de los Santos. And that work, and others that interest us here, were reproduced in the first volume of Pierre Paris's well-known publication *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, which was released in 1903.[174] It is difficult to imagine Picasso as an erudite scholar consulting this sort of source. But Picasso is always full of surprises. On the other hand, he

[172] Pierre Rouillard, *Antiquités de l'Espagne, Musée du Louvre. Département des Antiquités orientales. Dépôt au Musée des Antiquités nationales de Saint-Germain-en-Laye* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997).

[173] Cédric Gruat and Lucía Martínez, *El retorno de la Dama de Elche. Segunda Guerra Mundial: las negociaciones entre Francia y España para el intercambio de importantes tesoros artísticos, 1940–1941* (Madrid: Alianza, 2015).

[174] Pierre Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903).

may have received news of these works via another route, in a sort of a posteriori or *Nachträglichkeit* effect of his own cultural memory remarked upon above. To briefly recapitulate: during his time in Madrid, both in 1897 and in 1901, dates straddling the Crisis of ’98, Picasso would have been able to see works of Iberian art, including those from Cerro de los Santos, both in the MAN and in the Prado. There was also his relationship with Azorín, who wrote in his novels of Father Lasalde and the Ladies of Cerro de los Santos whom he believed he saw reincarnated in the young girls of La Mancha of his time. Picasso and Azorín were in contact while the latter wrote *La Voluntad*, one of his most important novels, featuring the figures excavated from Cerro de los Santos. Later, in 1904, in another text, Azorín would again cite these same ladies, with their “almond-shaped eyes” and “small glasses offering essences.”[175]

The simultaneous relationships with Roman art, Iberian art, Seurat, and Cézanne—and, in a realm beyond what can be concretely proven, with works from the Fang culture—in addition to its internal development as a painting, make *Nude with Joined Hands* a more complex work than one might think at first glance. In the synopsis of Picasso’s transcultural ties, the “art of museums” remains. But that will not be skipped. During all of 1906, iconographic relationships between Picasso and Dürer emerged. And there is a truly singular morphological resemblance between *Nude with Joined Hands* and some of Dürer’s drawings. His interest in anatomical studies is well known, and there are several of his studies on proportions that could be associated with Picasso. In Dresden, there is one in which the figure’s pose and the tracing of arms rendered with circles makes it particularly apt to be linked to the basic design of the female figure in the painting at the MoMA. In 1905, in Strasbourg, *Das Skizzenbuch von Albrecht Dürer* was published, with a study by Robert Bruck and works from the Brühl collection.[176] Plate 74 reproduces that drawing.[177] Again, it is hard to imagine Picasso consulting this sort of publication. But, yet again, in Picasso there is always room for what in others is improbable.

In any case, Dürer’s drawing is an anatomical study, and the compositional sketch of the female figure in *Nude with Joined Hands* shifted Picasso toward the study of anthropometry. Probably in spring of 1907 Picasso developed a basic diagram of the human body “with joined hands,” which is neither male or female, or is both things at once, a drawing that accentuated “primitivist” synthesis. These drawings are preserved by the artist’s heirs and the Musée Picasso-Paris [pp. 210–211].[178] The use of parallel lines to create a system of proportions recalls lined notebooks and Karl Richard Lepsius’s well-known sketches. Intuition suggests that Picasso had some of Stratz’s treatises in mind. It is significant that in 1914 Stratz became interested in the anthropometry of “African fetishes.”[179]

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[175] Azorín, *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2000), 74. Originally published as José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín), *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1904).

[176] Bruck, *Das Skizzenbuch*, plate 74 (163).

[177] Ibid.

[178] Seckel, *Les Demoiselles*, 182–85.

[179] Carl Heinrich Stratz, *Die Darstellung des menschlichen Körpers in der Kunst* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1914).

The iconic development in *Nude with Joined Hands* continued in another of Picasso's works, this one a well-known piece from 1907, *Femme aux mains jointes* (Woman with Joined Hands), today at the Musée Picasso-Paris, which is considered a predecessor of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, when in fact its genealogy and line of development are as explored in the present text. Related to this work is *Femme au corsage jaune* (Woman with Yellow Shirt), in which Picasso is emphatically explicit about his interest in gender slippages, as this piece portrays a feminine/masculine figure. He also developed the evolutionary line of *Nude with Joined Hands* in parallel to this work in several especially revelatory drawings from *Carnet 7* [p. 208], at the Museo Casa Natal Picasso in Málaga, in which the morphology of the rounded arms is the central graphic sign.[180] These drawings may be related to some small metal pieces from the Senufo culture or to wooden items from the Vere culture. But Picasso returned to the motif of *Nude with Joined Hands* in *Carnet 8*, playing with the duality between feminine and masculine figures.[181] This developmental branch met up with the sequels to drawings dedicated to Fondevila created in 1907 and with a well-known gouache in the Alsdorf collection in Chicago. The final point in this trajectory is to be found, in my view, in *Petite figure* (*Fetiche*), today at the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto. In all of these pieces, Picasso's embrace of the primitivist koine, of transculturality, is absolute. We are on a journey other than the one that leads to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. But we are feeling the ultimate consequences, the reverberations, of the Picasso of 1906, the Picasso of "the turning point": a foundational moment in modern art.[182]

180
Carmona, "Cahier de dessins," 21–92.

181
Seckel, *Les Demoiselles*, 230–47.

182
I would like to thank Antonio Javier López, director of La Térmica, for his advice and careful attention to this text. I would also like to express my thanks to Juan José Delgado, Andrea Rey, María García, Victoria Llamas, and especially to Pablo Salazar Jiménez, researcher at the Cátedra Picasso Fundación Málaga.

Catalogue References for Works by Picasso Cited in the Text, in the Order in which They Appear

Pablo Salazar

Abbreviations for catalogues raisonnés and museum collections:

DB. Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille. *Picasso 1900–1906. Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre Peint. Catalogue établi avec la collaboration de Joan Rosselet*. Lausanne: Ides et Calendes, 1966.

GG. Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher. *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso*. New York: The Pace Gallery, 1986.

J. Jèssica Jaques Pi. *Picasso en Gósol, 1906: un verano para la modernidad*. Madrid: A. Machado Libros, 2007.

MCNP. Museo Casa Natal Picasso, Málaga.

MPB. Museu Picasso de Barcelona.

MPP. Musée national Picasso-Paris.

P. Josep Palau i Fabre. *Picasso*. 4 vols. Barcelona: Polígrafa, 1980–2011.

WS. Werner Spies. *Picasso: The Sculptures; Catalogue Raisonné of the Sculptures in Collaboration with Christine Piot*. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2000.

Z. Christian Zervos. *Pablo Picasso. Catalogue de l'œuvre*. 33 vols. Paris: Cahiers d'Arts, 1932–78.

1
Les Demoiselles d'Avignon
Paris, June–July 1907
Oil on canvas, 243.9 × 233.7 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York (333.1939)
Acquired thanks to the bequest of Lillie P. Bliss
Previously: Jacques Doucet Collection
P.I:1557; Z.IIa:18; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

2
The Death of Harlequin
(*La Mort d'arlequin [Étude]*)
Paris, Spring 1906
Pen and black ink with watercolor on laid paper, 10.4 × 16.8 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (1996.129.2)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon
P.I:1179; Z.XXII:337; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

3
The Watering Place (*Chevaux au bain*)
Paris, Spring 1906
Gouache on tan paper board, 37.8 × 58.1 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1984.433.274)
Bequest of Scofield Thayer, 1982
Previously on loan to the Worcester Art Museum, Dial Collection
DB.XIV:16; P.I:1197; Z.I:265; does not appear in Jaques

4
Boy Leading a Horse
(*Le Meneur de cheval nu*)
Paris, Spring 1906
Oil on canvas, 220.6 × 131.2 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York (575.1964)
Gift of William S. Paley, Manhasset, New York, 1964
DB.XIV:7; P.I:1189; Z.I:264; does not appear in Jaques

5
Catalan Carnet (*Carnet catalán*)
Gósol, May–July 1906
Ink pen, black pencil, and graphite pencil. Parchment-like cover in beige and black tones; 35 sheets, 2 blank, 3 torn out, 12.5 × 8 cm
Museu Picasso de Barcelona
MPB 113.039c

6
Gertrude Stein (*Portrait de Gertrude Stein*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Oil on canvas, 100 × 81.3 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (47.106)
Bequest of Gertrude Stein, 1946
DB.XVI:10; P.I:1339; Z.I:352; does not appear in Jaques

7
Two Youths (*Les Adolescents*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 151.5 × 93.7 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (1963.10.197)
Chester Dale Collection
DB.XV:10; J.VI:14; P.I:1241; Z.I:305

8
Naked Gypsy Boy, Seated
(*Garçon bohémien nu*)
Horta d'Ebre, mid-1898
Oil on canvas, 49.7 × 32 cm
Private collection (Sotheby's, L01002, 2/6/2001, Lot 144)
Does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

9
The Model (*Étude académique: Homme nu debout*)
Barcelona, 1896
Oil on canvas, 89.2 × 46.5 cm
Fundació Palau, Caldes d'Estrac (0000187)
Does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

10
La Toilette
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on cardboard, 53 × 31 × 1.7 cm
Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP.00143)
Previously: James P. Warburg Collection, New York
J. B. Stang Collection, Oslo
DB.XV:33; J.XI:16; P.I:1247; Z.VI:736

11
Composition: The Peasants
(*Composition: Les Paysans*)
Gósol/Paris, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 221 × 131.4 cm
The Barnes Foundation, Merion and Philadelphia, PA (BF140)
DB.XV:62; J.XVIII:8; P.I:1329; Z.I:384

12
Carnet 1
Paris, Fall 1906
Black pencil, graphite pencil, and India ink on Ingres paper, 26 × 20 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris
Dation 1979
MPP1858

13
Carnet 2
Paris, Winter 1906
Black pencil, graphite pencil, gouache, watercolor, black ink, and brown ink on glossy beige paper, 14.7 × 10.6 cm (each sheet 13.5 × 10.5 cm)
Musée national Picasso-Paris
Dation 1979
MPP1859

14
Carnet 3
Paris, March–July 1907
Black pencil, black ink, color pencils, pastel, and charcoal on beige Ingres paper, 19.5 × 24.3 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris
Dation 1979
MPP1861

15
Carnet 5
Paris, April–May 1907
Black pencil and ink on beige paper, yellow grooved paper, and glossy paper, 20.3 × 14.7 cm (Catalogue of the exhibition of Daumier's drawings, watercolors, and lithographs organized in the Galerie L. et P. Rosenberg in Paris from April 15 to May 6, 1907)
Private collection
GG.41

16
Three Nudes (*Trois nus*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache, ink, and watercolor over pencil on white laid paper, 62.9 × 47.9 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2016.237.10)
Gift of the Leonard A. Lauder Cubist Collection
Previously: Alex Hillman Family Foundation Collection
DB.XV:18; J.X:6; P.I:1309; Z.I:340

17
The Harem (*Le Harem*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 154.3 × 110 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art (1958.45)
Bequest of Leonard C. Hanna, Jr.
DB.XV:40; J.IX:36; P.I:1266; Z.I:321

18
Carnet 7
Paris, May–June 1907
India ink, graphite pencil, and red gouache on white lined paper, 22 × 11.6 cm
Museo Casa Natal Picasso, Málaga
MCNP.2037

19
Two Youths (*Les Adolescents*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 157 × 117 cm
Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris (RF 1960-35)
Jean Walter-Paul Guillaume Collection, Paris
DB.XV:11; J.VIII:12; P.I:1239; Z.I:324

20
Nude with Joined Hands (*Nu aux mains jointes [Fernande]*; *Grand nu rose*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas. 153.7 × 94.3 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York (SPC27.1990)
William S. Paley Collection, New York
Previously: Gertrude Stein Collection
DB.XV:27; J.XV:15; P.I:1287; Z.I:327

21
Demi-nu à la cruche (*Torse de jeune fille*; *Half-Nude with a Pitcher*; *Torso of a Young Woman*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm
Alicia Koplowitz Collection, Madrid
Previously: Christie's, 5/14/1997, Lot 11; Hans Engelhorn, Heidelberg
DB.XV:24; J.VII:4; P.I:1256; Z.XXII:357

22
Nude with a Pitcher (*Nu au pichet*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 100 × 81.3 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago (1981.14)
Gift of Mary and Leigh B. Block
Previously: Edward James Collection, London
DB.XV:23; J.XVII:1; P.I:1254; Z.I:330

23
Woman Plaiting Her Hair (*La Coiffure [Fernande]*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Oil on canvas, 127 × 90.8 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York (826.1996)
Florene May Schoenborn and Samuel A. Marx Collection, New York
DB.XVI:7; P.I:1363; Z.I:336; does not appear in Jaques

24
La Toilette
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 151.1 × 99.1 cm
Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY (26.9)
Fellows for Life Fund, New York, 1926
DB.XV:34; J.XI:15; P.I:1248; Z.I:325

25
Girl with a Goat (*La Jeune Fille à la chèvre*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 139.4 × 102.2 cm
The Barnes Foundation, Merion and Philadelphia, PA (BF250)
DB.XV:35; J.IX:23; P.I:1260; Z.I:249

26
Nude Combing Her Hair (*Nu se coiffant*; *La Toilette*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Oil on canvas, 105.4 × 81.3 cm
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, TX (AP 1982.06)
Purchase, 1982
Previously: Jacques Ulmann Collection, Paris
DB.XVI:9; P.I:1360; Z.I:344; does not appear in Jaques

27
Youth in an Archway (*Garçon nu*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Conté crayon on paper, 59.1 × 42.5 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1984.433.273)
Bequest of Scofield Thayer, 1982
Previously: Worcester Art Museum, MA
J.VIII:5; P.I:1240; Z.VI:660; does not appear in Daix

28
The Two Brothers (*Les Deux Frères*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 141.4 × 97.1 cm
Kunstmuseum Basel (G 1967.8)
Permanent loan from the City of Basel
DB.XV:9; J.V:12; P.I:1233; Z.I:304

29
Les Deux Frères (*The Two Brothers*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache on cardboard, 80 × 59 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP7)
Dation 1979
DB.XV:8; J.V:10; P.I:1229; Z.VI:720

30
Le Jeune Écuyer (*The Young Rider; Young Man on Horseback*; *Garçon nu à cheval*; *El joven escudero*)
Paris, 1905–06
Black chalk on blue-tinted paper, 24 × 16.5 cm
Fundación Almine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso
Z.XXII:321; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Palau

31
Self-Portrait with Palette (*Autoportrait à la palette*)
Gósol/Paris, Summer–Fall 1906
Oil on canvas, 91.9 × 73.3 cm
Philadelphia Museum of Art (1950.1.1)
A. E. Gallatin Collection, 1950
DB.XVI:28; P.I:1380; Z.I:375; does not appear in Jaques

32
Standing Nude (*Femme nue la main droite levée*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Pencil on laid paper, 63.5 × 21.5 cm
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (43.011)
Gift of Mrs. Murray S. Danforth
P.I:1338; Z.VI:645; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

33
Two Nude Women (*Deux femmes nues*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Watercolor and graphite on thin white laid paper, cut out and mounted on dark yellow composition board, 23.2 × 14.9 cm
The Baltimore Museum of Art (41.99)
Bequest of Blanche Adler
Does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

34
Rostro-máscara (*Masque de visage*; *Rostre*; *Mask*)
Barcelona, 1900
Oil on canvas, 26.2 × 20 cm
Museu Picasso de Barcelona (MPB 110.096)
P.I:366; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Zervos

35
The Blind Singer (*Chanteur aveugle*)
Barcelona, 1903 (cast in 1960)
Bronze with a black patina, 13 × 7 × 8 cm
Private collection (Sotheby's, N08090, 5/4/2005, Lot 166)
P.I:912; WS:2; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Zervos

36
Tête de picador au nez cassé
(*Head of a Picador with a Broken Nose*)
Barcelona, 1903
Plaster, 19 × 14.5 × 12 cm
Marina Picasso Collection (551119)
Courtesy of Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva
Also: Bernard Ruiz-Picasso Collection
WS:3.I; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

37
Head of a Picador with a Broken Nose
(*Tête de picador au nez cassé*)
Barcelona, 1903 (cast before 1925)
Bronze, 18.3 × 13 × 11.5 cm
The Baltimore Museum of Art (1950.453)
Cone Collection (Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone), Baltimore
Also: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
Gift of Marjory W. Walker, Brooks Walker Jr., and John C. Walker
P.I:941; WS:3.II; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Zervos

38
Woman with Kerchief (*Portrait de Fernande Olivier au foulard*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache and charcoal on paper, 66.04 × 49.53 cm
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (47.10.78)
T. Catesby Jones Collection
Previously: Paul Guillaume Collection
DB.XV:45; J.XIV:93; P.I:1307; Z.I:319

39
Woman with Loaves (*La Porteuse de pains*; *La dona dels pans*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 99.5 × 69.8 cm
Philadelphia Museum of Art (1931.7.1)
Gift of Charles E. Ingersoll, 1931
DB.XV:46; J.XIV:91; P.I:1294; Z.VI:735

40
Boy with Cattle (*Vacher au petit panier*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache on paper, 59.7 × 47 cm
Columbus Museum of Art, OH (1931.084)
Gift of Ferdinand Howald
DB.XV:56; J.VIII:8; P.I:1320; Z.I:338

41
Portrait of Fernande Olivier
(*Portrait de Fernande*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2004.446)
The Solomon Trust, Cambridge, MA
DB.XV:41; P.I:1283; Z.I:254; does not appear in Jaques

42
Tête de femme (Fernande)
(*Head of a Woman [Fernande]*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Unfired clay, 36.3 × 25 × 25 cm
Hilti Art Foundation, Schaan, Liechtenstein (S1T)
P.I:1205; WS:6.I; Z.I:323; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

43
Cabeza de mujer (Fernande)
(*Tête de femme*; *Head of a Woman [Fernande]*)
Paris, 1906 (cast between 1910 and 1937)
Bronze, 36 × 25 × 23 cm
Museu Picasso de Barcelona
Musée national Picasso-Paris
Dation 1979
Fundación Almine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso
WS:6.II; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

44
Fernande con mantilla (*Fernande à la mantille*; *Fernande with Mantilla*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on wood, 82 × 63 cm
Fundación Almine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso
DB.XV:44; J.XIV:85; P.I:1271; Z.VI:893

45
Fernande's Head (*Tête de Fernande*; *Cabeza de Fernande*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil and gouache on canvas, 37.5 × 33.1 cm
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
Promised gift of Susan and John Jackson, B.A. 1967, and the Liana Foundation
Previously: Sotheby's, N08314, 5/8/2007, Lot 24
DB.XV:21; J.VIL:5; P.I:1274; Z.VI:749

46
Buste de femme (Fernande) (*Bois de Gósol*; *Bust of a Woman [Fernande]*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Carved wood with traces of red and black paint, 77 × 15.5 × 15 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP233)
J.XII:5; P.IV:234; WS:6.C; does not appear in Daix or Zervos

47
Head of Young Woman (*Buste de jeune femme*; *Busto de mujer joven*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Oil on canvas, 54 × 42 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid
Previously: Jaime Botín Collection
Marlborough Fine Art, London
Parke-Bernet, New York
Paul Guillaume Collection, Paris
DB.XVI:23; P.I:1395; Z.I:367; does not appear in Jaques

48
Self-Portrait (*Autoportrait*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Oil on canvas, 65 × 54 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP8)
Dation 1979
DB.XVI:26; P.I:1376; Z.IIa:1; does not appear in Jaques

49
Étude pour Femme aux mains jointes: Tête de femme (*Study for a Woman with Joined Hands: Head of a Woman*)
Paris, April–May 1907
Pen and India ink, gouache, and pencil on a catalogue page from the exposition of Daumier's drawings, watercolors, and lithographs organized at the Galerie L. et P. Rosenberg in Paris from April 15 to May 6, 1907, 20.3 × 14.7 cm
Private collection (Christie's, 7060, 6/23/2005, Lot 488) (***Carnet 5***)
does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

50
Josep Fondevila
Paris, Winter 1906
Ink and black chalk on paper, 48 × 31.6 cm
Fundación Almine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso
P.I:1415; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Zervos

51
Visage-masque de Josep Fondevila (*Face-Like Mask of Fondevila*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Pen and India ink on paper, 31.5 × 24.3 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP517)
Dation 1979
J.XVI:22; P.I:1340; Z.VI:765; does not appear in Daix

52
Profil de Josep Fondevila (*Profile of Josep Fondevila*)
Paris/Gósol, Spring–Summer 1906
Graphite pencil on paper, 17.5 × 12 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MPP1857.66v) (***Carnet MPP 1857***)
Does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, or Zervos

53
Josep Fondevila (*Tête de Fondevila*; *Tête de paysan*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 45.1 × 40.3 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1992.37)
Gift of Florene M. Schoenborn, 1992
Previously: M. Schoenborn and Samuel A. Marx Collection, New York
DB.XV:53; J.XVI:11; P.I:1313; Z.VI:769

54
Tête de vieillard (Josep Fondevila) (*Head of an Old Man [Josep Fondevila]*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Lead pencil on paper, 42.8 × 32.5 cm
Private collection (Sotheby's, L14004, 2/6/2014, Lot 176)
Previously: Marina Picasso Collection (00747)
J.XVI:9; P.I:1311; Z.XXII:454; does not appear in Daix

55
Portrait de Josep Fondevila (*Portrait of Josep Fondevila*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Pen, ink, and lead pencil on lined paper, 21 × 13 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP518)
Dation 1979
J.XVI:8; P.I:1302; Z.XXII:453; does not appear in Daix

56
Cabeza de hombre (*Tête d'homme*; *Head of a Man*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Shaped red clay with grog, partially glazed after firing, 13.1 × 14 × 9.3 cm
Fundación Almine y Bernard Ruiz-Picasso
Does not appear in Daix, Jaques, Palau, Spies, or Zervos

57
Bust of a Man (Josep Fondevila) (*Buste d'homme [Josep Fondevila]*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Bronze, 16.8 × 22.9 × 11.7 cm
The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (66.4047)
Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1966
Also: Private collection (Sotheby's, N08634, 5/6/2010, Lot 181)
The Baltimore Museum of Art
Cone Collection (Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone), Baltimore
P.I:1220; WS:9.II; Z.I:380; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

58
Josep Fondevila nu marchant (*Josep Fondevila Nude, Walking*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Black chalk on lined paper, 21 × 13 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP516)
Dation 1979
J.XVI:16; P.I:1315; Z.XXII:443; does not appear in Daix

59
Portrait de Josep Fondevila et esquisse de nu aux bras levés (*Portrait of Josep Fondevila and Sketch of Nude with Raised Arms*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Conté crayon and ink wash on paper
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MPP1858.47r) (***Carnet 1***)
Dation 1979
P.I:1317; Z.VI:772; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

60
Profil (*Profile*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Conté crayon on paper
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MPP1858.12r) (***Carnet 1***)
Dation 1979
P.I:1427; Z.VI:909; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

61
Portrait of André Salmon (*Buste d'homme [André Salmon]*; *Tête de Josep Fondevila*)
Paris, Spring 1907
Charcoal on paper, 62.9 × 47.6 cm
Menil Family Collection, Houston
P.I:1437; Z.IIb:630; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

62
Guernica
Paris, May 11–June 4, 1937
Oil on canvas, 349.3 × 776.6 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid (DE00050)
Permanent loan from the Museo del Prado
P.IV:983; Z.IX:65; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

63
Young Girl with a Flower Basket (*Fillette à la corbeille fleurie*; *Linda la Bouquetière*)
Paris, Summer 1905
Oil on canvas, 154.8 × 66.1 cm
Helly Nahmad Collection, Monaco/London
Previously: David and Peggy Rockefeller Collection, New York
Gertrude Stein Collection
DB.XIII:8; P.I:1155; Z.I:256; does not appear in Jaques

64
Self-Portrait (*Autoportrait*)
Paris, Fall 1906
Oil on canvas mounted on honeycomb panel, 26.7 × 19.7 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1999.363.59)
Jacques and Natasha Gelman Collection, 1998
Previously: Sotheby's, 10/22/1980, Lot 33
DB.XVI:27; Z.I:371; does not appear in Jaques or Palau

65
Nude Figure (*Femme nue debout*)
Paris, Spring 1910
Oil on canvas, 97.7 × 76.2 cm
Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY (1954:11)
Consolidated Purchase Funds, 1954
P.II:495; Z.IIa:194; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

66
Nude Woman (*Femme nue*)
Cadaqués, Summer 1910
Oil on canvas, 187.3 × 61 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (1972.46.1)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund
Previously: Mrs. Meric Callery
P.II:543; Z.IIa:233; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

67
Petite figure (*Fetiche*; *Poupée*; *Doll*)
Paris, Summer 1907
Carved and painted wood with metal eyes, 23.5 × 5.5 × 5.5 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto
P.II:100; WS:21.I; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Zervos

68
Petite figure (*Fetiche*; *Poupée*; *Doll*)
Paris, 1907 (cast in 1964)
Bronze, 23.5 × 5.5 × 5.5 cm
Museo Picasso, Málaga
Gift of Christine Ruiz-Picasso
MPM1.60
P.II:100b; WS:21.II; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Zervos

69
Nu aux mains serrées (*Nu aux mains jointes*; *Nude with Clasped Hands*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache on canvas, 96.5 × 75.6 cm
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (71/297)
Gift of Sam and Ayala Zacks, 1970
DB.XV:28; J.XV:6; P.I:1289; Z.I:310

70
Nude with Folded Hands
(*Nu aux mains croisées*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache on paper, 58 × 37.5 cm
Eugene McDermott Collection, Dallas
DB.XV:19; J.XV:11; Z.I:258; does not appear in Palau

71
Head of a Woman with a Chignon (Fernande) (*Tête de femme au chignon [Fernande]*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Gouache on paper, 62 × 47 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago (2020.271)
Partial promised donation from the collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow
Ambroise Vollard Collection
DB.XV:20; J.XIV:34; P.I:1279; Z.I:332

72
Three Nudes (*Trois nus*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Pen and ink on paper, 30.3 × 40.7 cm
Private collection (Christie's, 15930, 6/21/2018, Lot 134)
J.XV:2; Z.VI:882; does not appear in Daix or Palau

73
Standing Nude in Front of a Red Arch
(*Femme nue debout à la voûte rouge*)
Gósol, Summer 1906
Oil on canvas, 26 × 17.2 cm
The Barnes Foundation, Merion and Philadelphia, PA (BF112)
DB.XV:26; J.XV:12; P.I:1284; Z.I:326

74
Carnet MPP 1857 (*Carnet de dessins de la période rose*)
Paris, 1905–Spring 1906
Black ink, gouache, graphite, and India ink on vellum paper, 18.5 × 13 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris
Dation 1979
MPP:1857

75
Femme aux mains jointes (Étude)
(*Woman with Joined Hands*)
Paris, April–May 1907
Oil on canvas, 90.5 × 71.5 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris (MP16)
Dation 1979
P.I:1439; Z.IIb:662; does not appear in Daix or Jaques

76
Femme au corsage jaune
(*Woman with Yellow Shirt*)
Paris, Spring 1907
Oil on canvas, 130.5 × 96.5 cm
Private collection
Previously: Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pulitzer Jr. Collection, St. Louis
Z.IIa:43; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Palau

77
Carnet 8
Paris, May–June 1907
Black ink, brown ink, black pencil, lead pencil, India ink, tempera paint, and watercolor on beige graph paper, 22.3 × 17.3 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris
Dation 1979
MPP1860

78
Homme nu aux mains croisées
(*Nude Man with Crossed Hands*)
Paris, May–June 1907
Gouache, chalk, and charcoal on cream-colored laid paper, 62.2 × 47 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection, Chicago
Previously: Mrs. Helena Rubinstein Collection, New York
Z.IIa:15; does not appear in Daix, Jaques, or Palau

PICASSO

The Turning Point

1906

Toward the Body

1

Nudes, bodies, of boys and adolescents, positive and vitalist, will mark in Picasso the metaphor of a new beginning. The central signifier of "the turning point" begins with them. But the nude, as a tradition in the fine arts, in its gradual evolution toward the idea of the "body in representation," was present in the artist's work since the very beginning of his career. The nude allowed Picasso to move beyond the framework of his academic training toward more realist and classical registers.

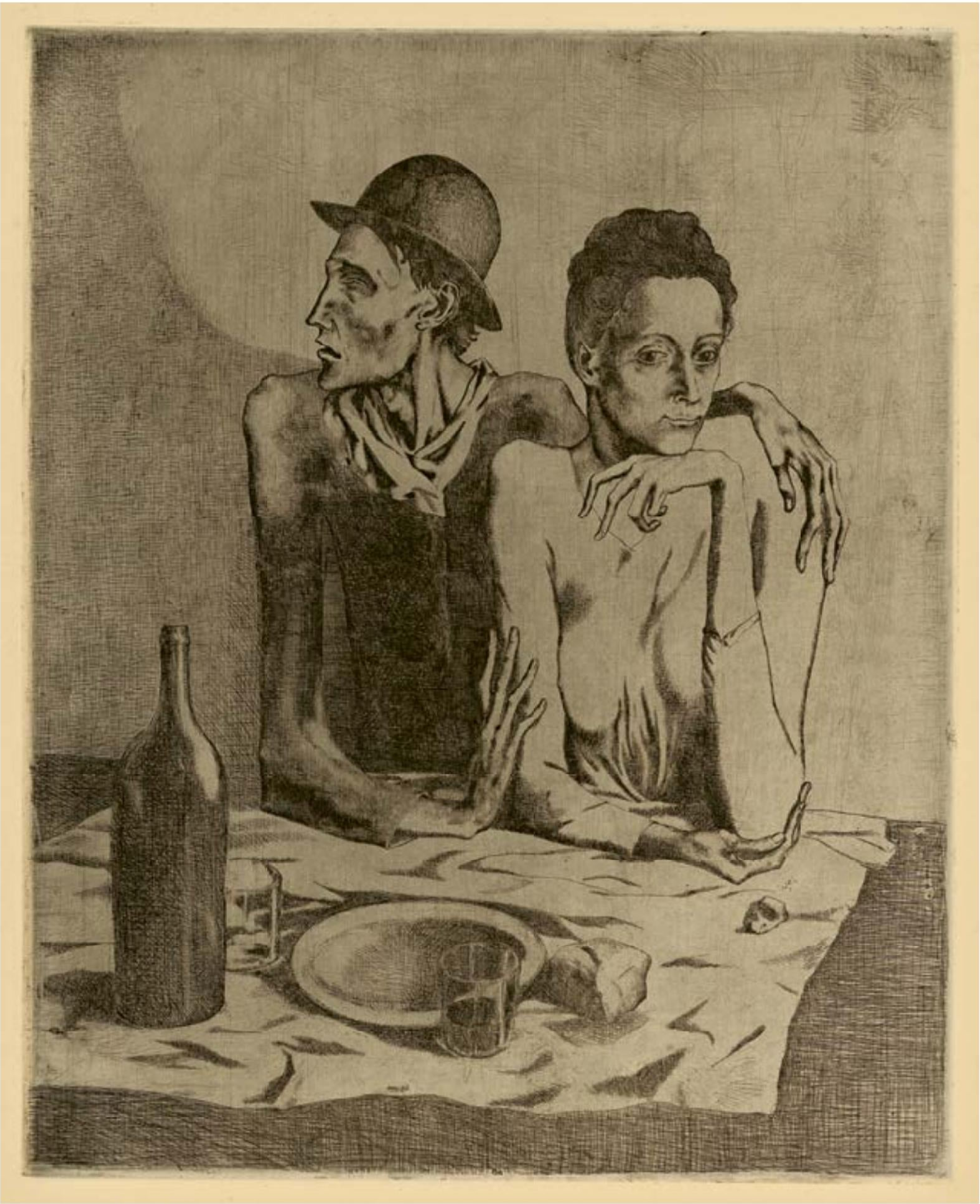
His formal experiments with the body began early, around 1899—when he was eighteen years old—along with erotic scenes, some being autobiographical, in which he did not distinguish between public and private, intimate and social. In 1900, coinciding with his first visit to Paris, Picasso began to develop the erotic. In addition to imitations of Degas and parodies of Manet, he begins in 1901 his first experiments with facial features and attempts to reduce the face to the form of a mask.

A pivot in meaning arises with the death of Carles Casagemas. The female nude becomes a metaphor for that loss and expresses the endless depths of melancholy. Picasso begins to represent himself nude, perhaps influenced by esotericism. Around 1902 he also heralds a classicism that again experiments with the schematic representation of faces. Yet, at the height of the Blue Period, the nude becomes an expression of the disgrace and desolation of the impoverished, to then, in a surprising conceptual turn, come to describe the quotidian intimate life of women in scenes with harlequins and acrobats.

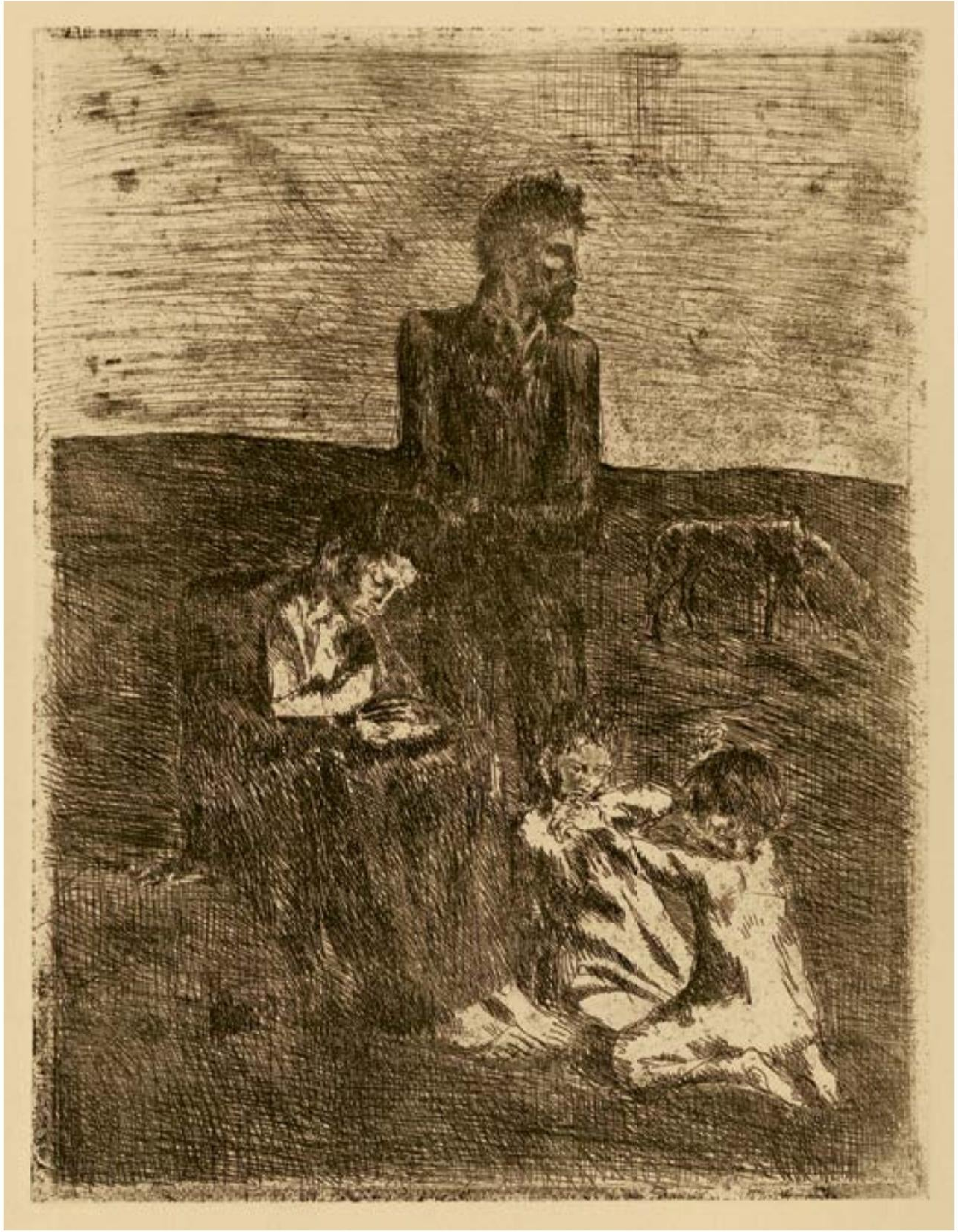
Femme assise, from early 1905, resumes the exploration of the nude and the body of the young, pre-1906 Picasso. The painting's tone still fits into the enigmatic poetics of fin de siècle symbolism. But Picasso establishes the dialogue between background and figure, frees the arabesque drawing, and turns the *non finito* into something possessing the value of pure visuality. Some chromatic spaces in the work are completely abstract. This piece is contemporary to the Fauves and marks different points of departure among Picasso and his French friends at the moment when the first definitions of modern art were taking shape.

Moreover, Picasso mentioned to one of his biographers that, in some of his earlier landscape works, the ochre and rust tones reminded him of the natural surroundings in the Montes de Málaga. Picasso's work always included frequent "retranscriptions" and the a posteriori recuperation of images stuck in the past. His distinctive use of color in 1906 appears to be foreshadowed in some of his 1896 landscapes, painted when he was fifteen years old.

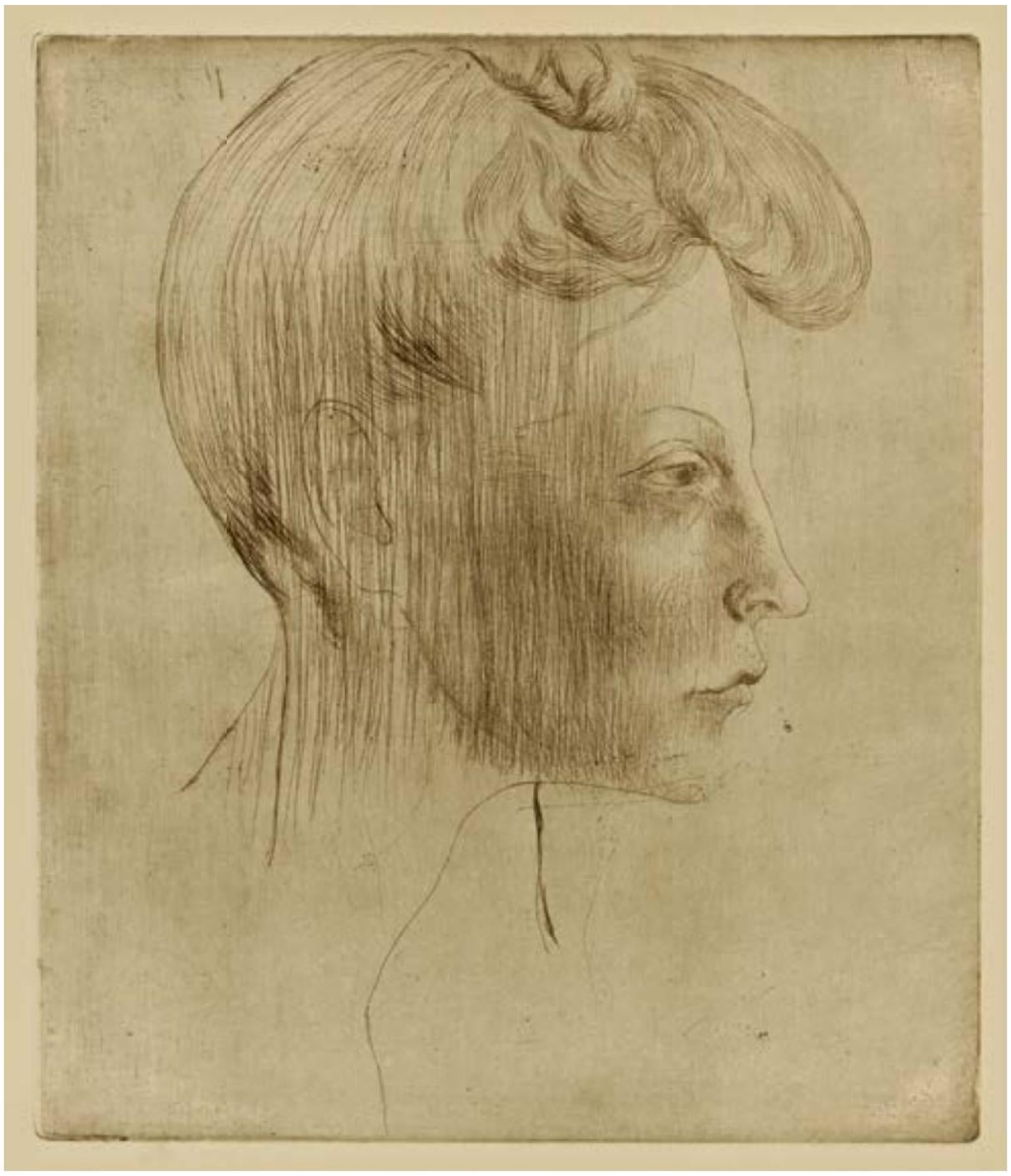
Toward the Body
The *Acrobat Suite* Series

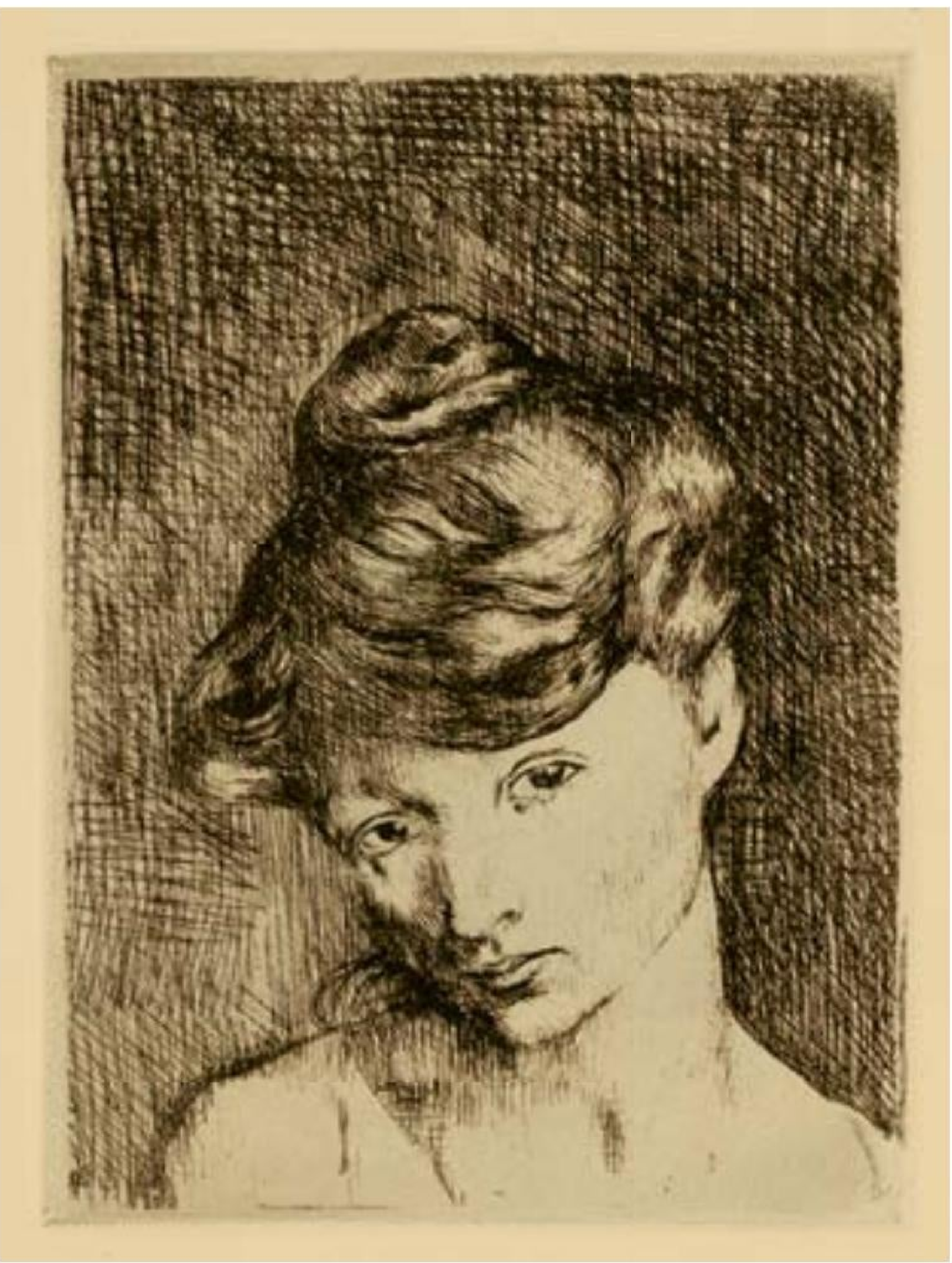


Le Repas frugal
(The Frugal Repast)
1904



Les Pauvres
(The Poor)
1904–05

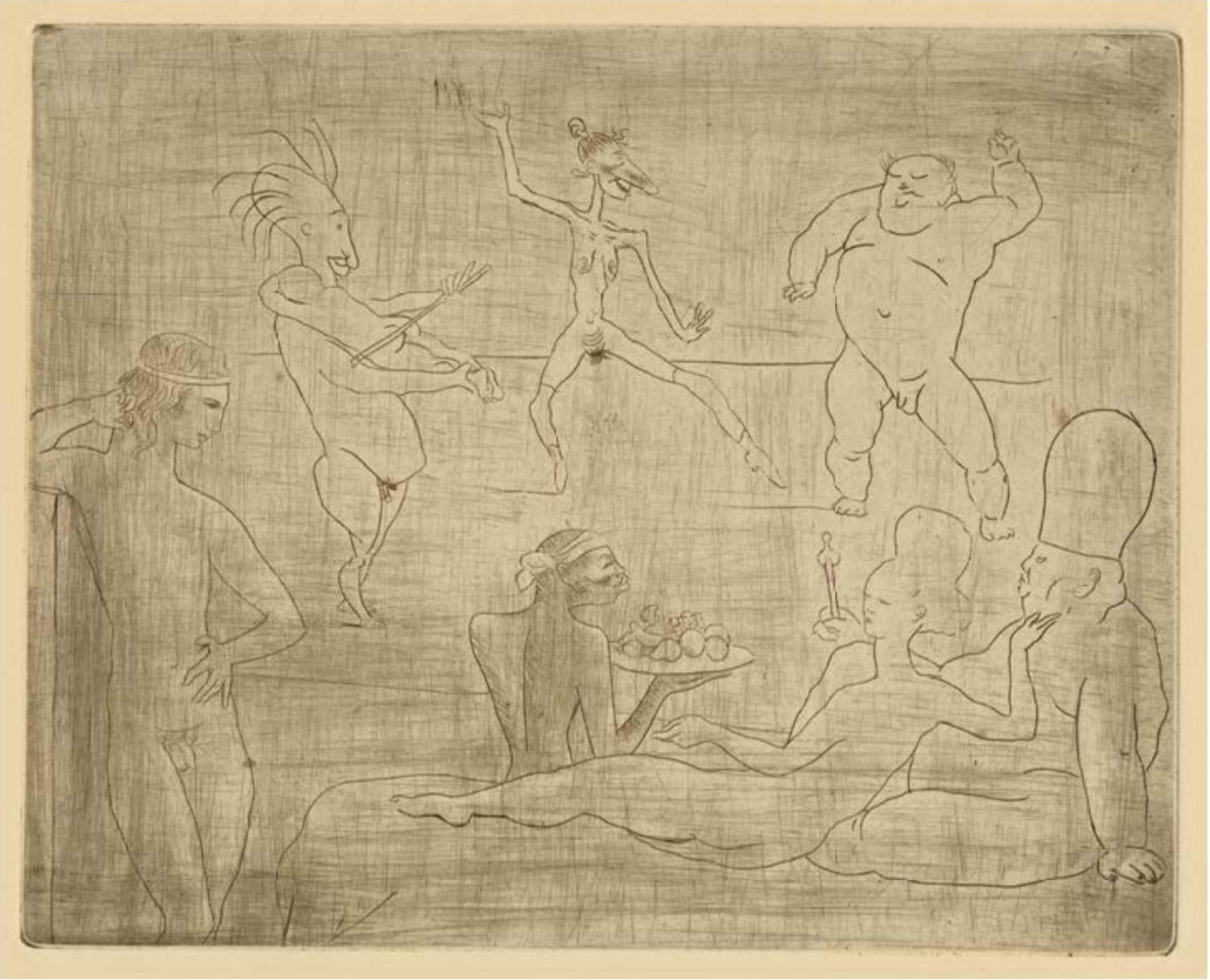


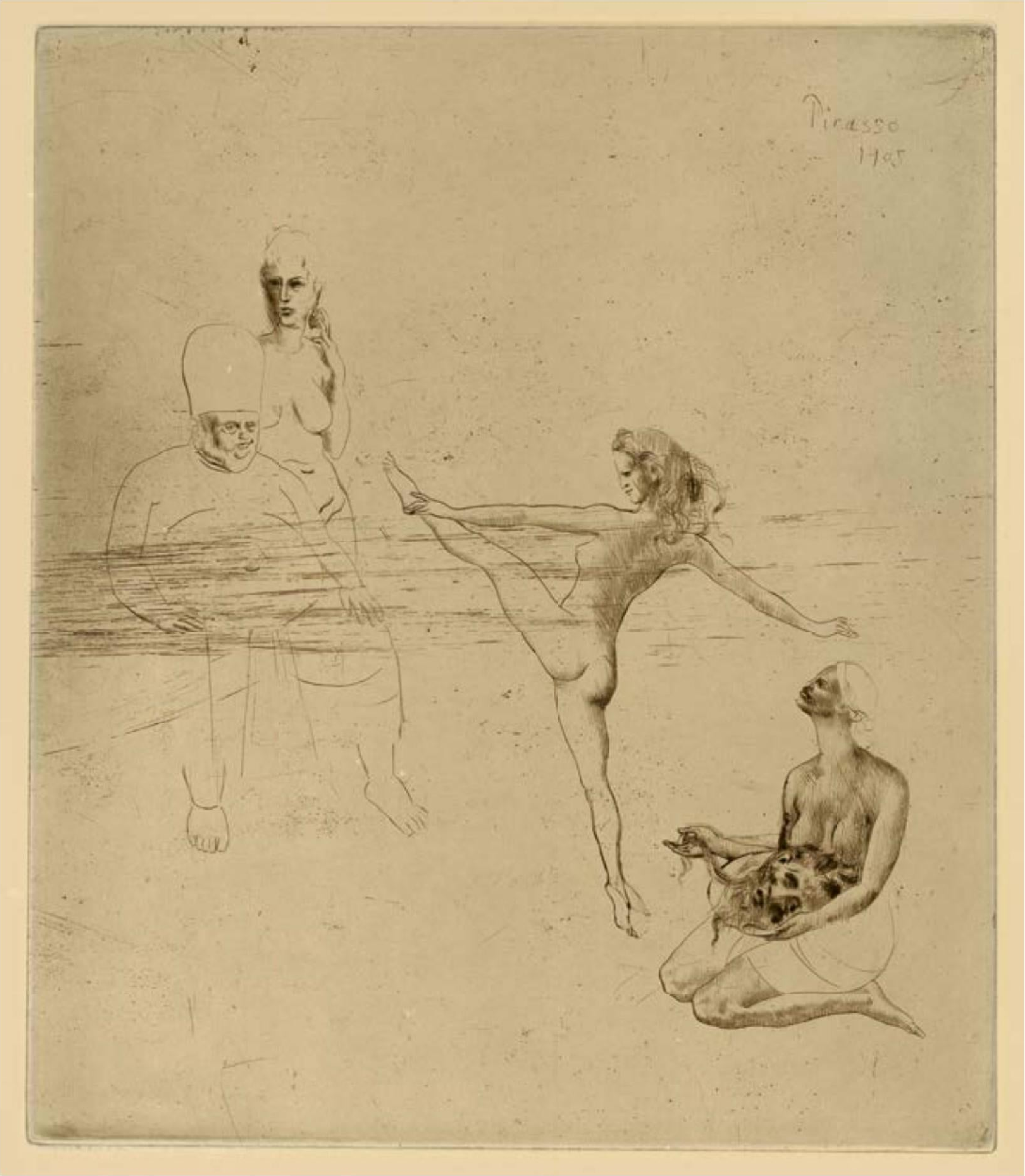


Tête de femme de profil (Madeleine)
(Head of a Woman in Profile [Madeleine])
1905

Tête de femme: Madeleine
(Head of a Woman: Madeleine)
1905

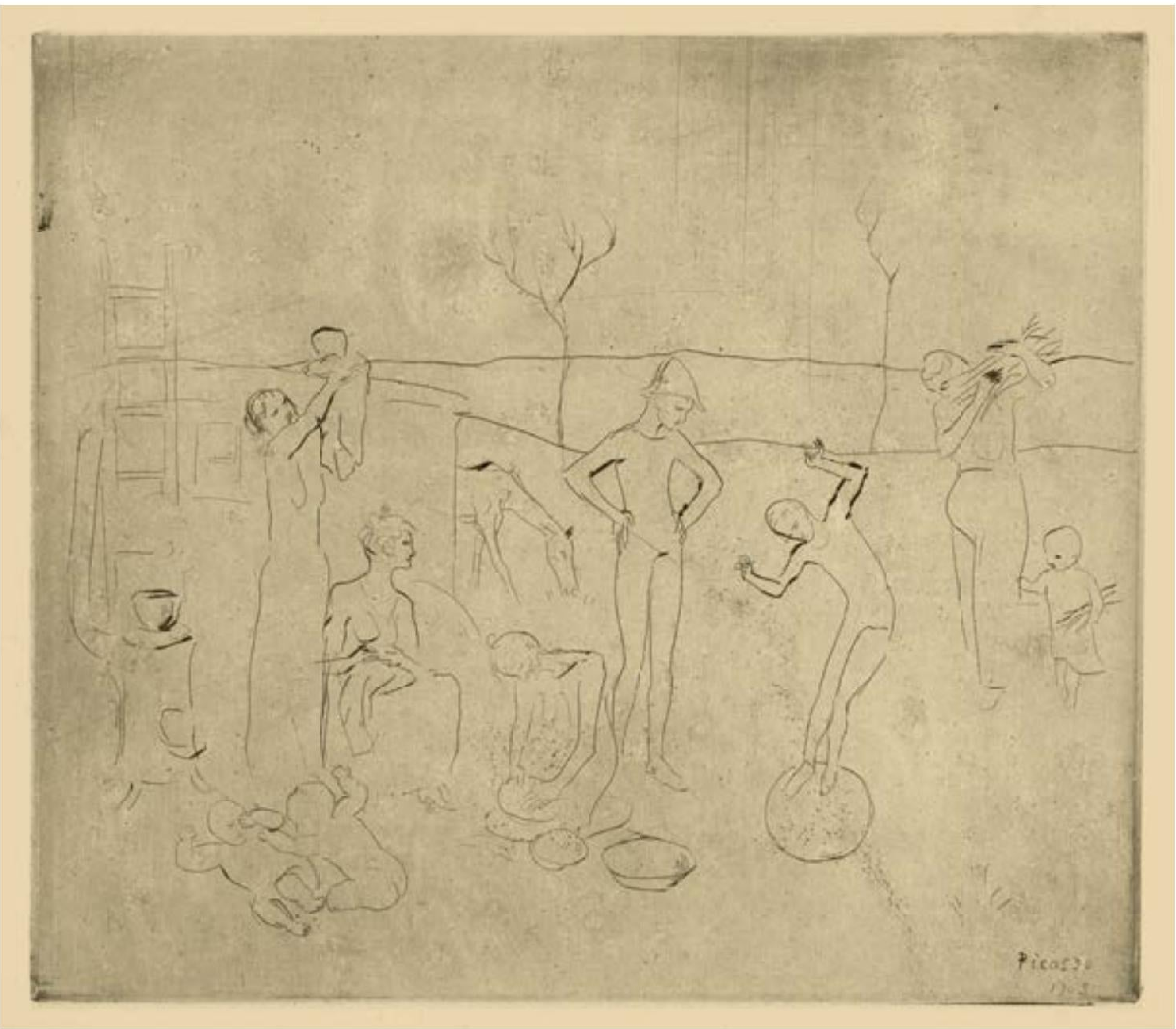
La Danse barbare, devant Salomé et Herode
(The Barbaric Dance [Before Salome and Herod])
1905



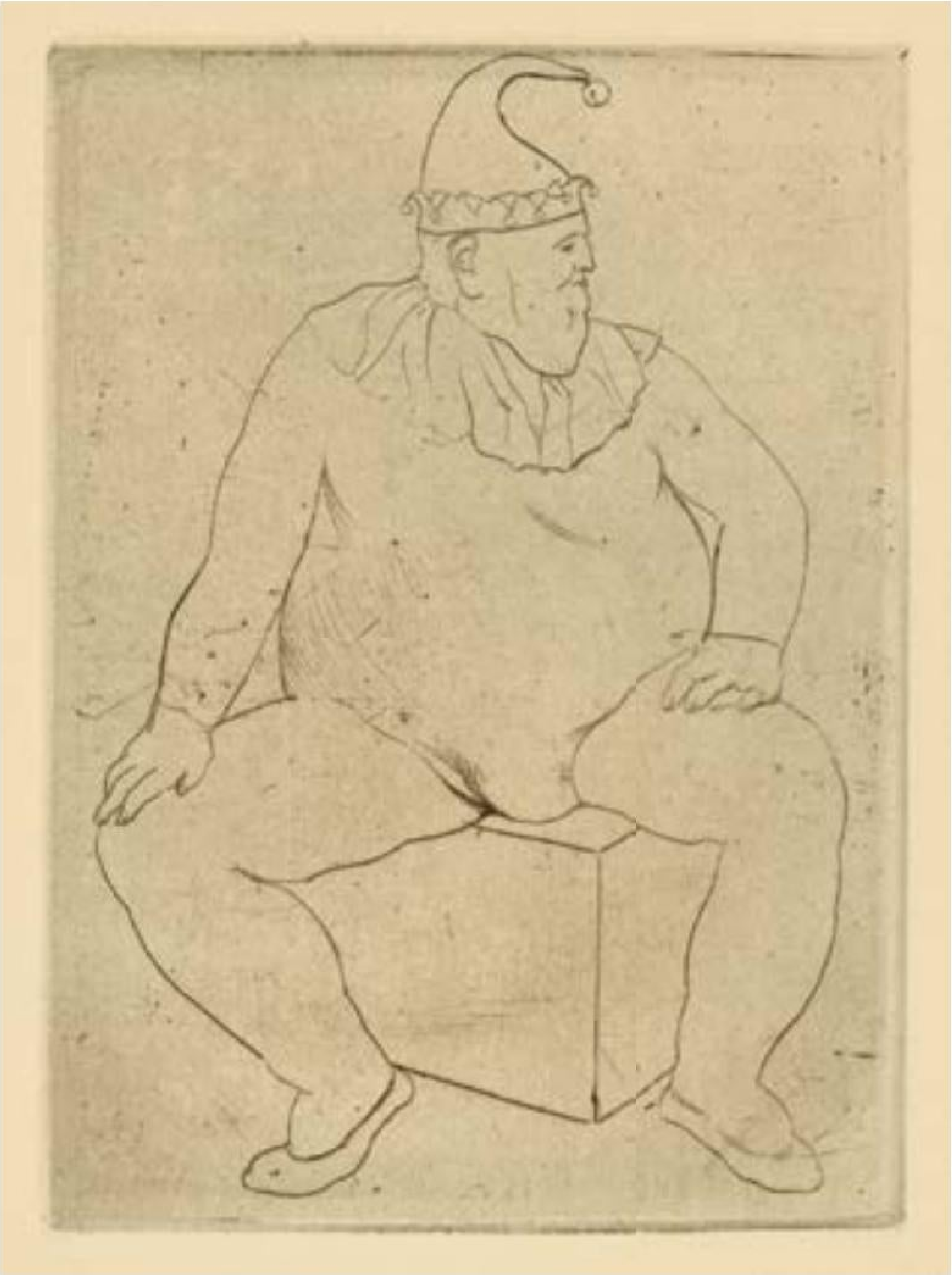

Picasso
1905

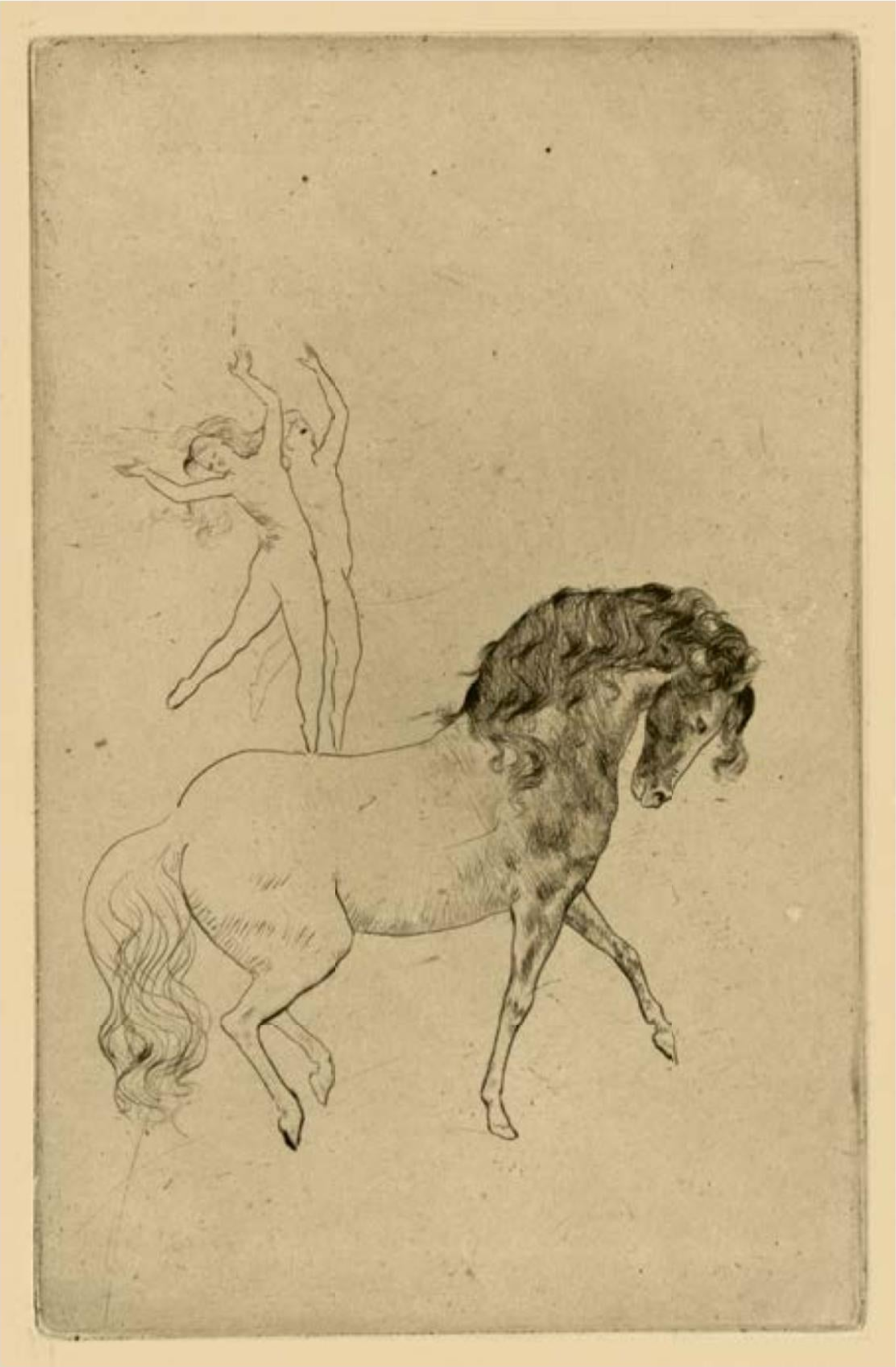
Salomé
(Salome)
1905

Les Saltimbanques
(The Acrobats)
1905



Saltimbanque au repos
(The Acrobat in Repose)
1905

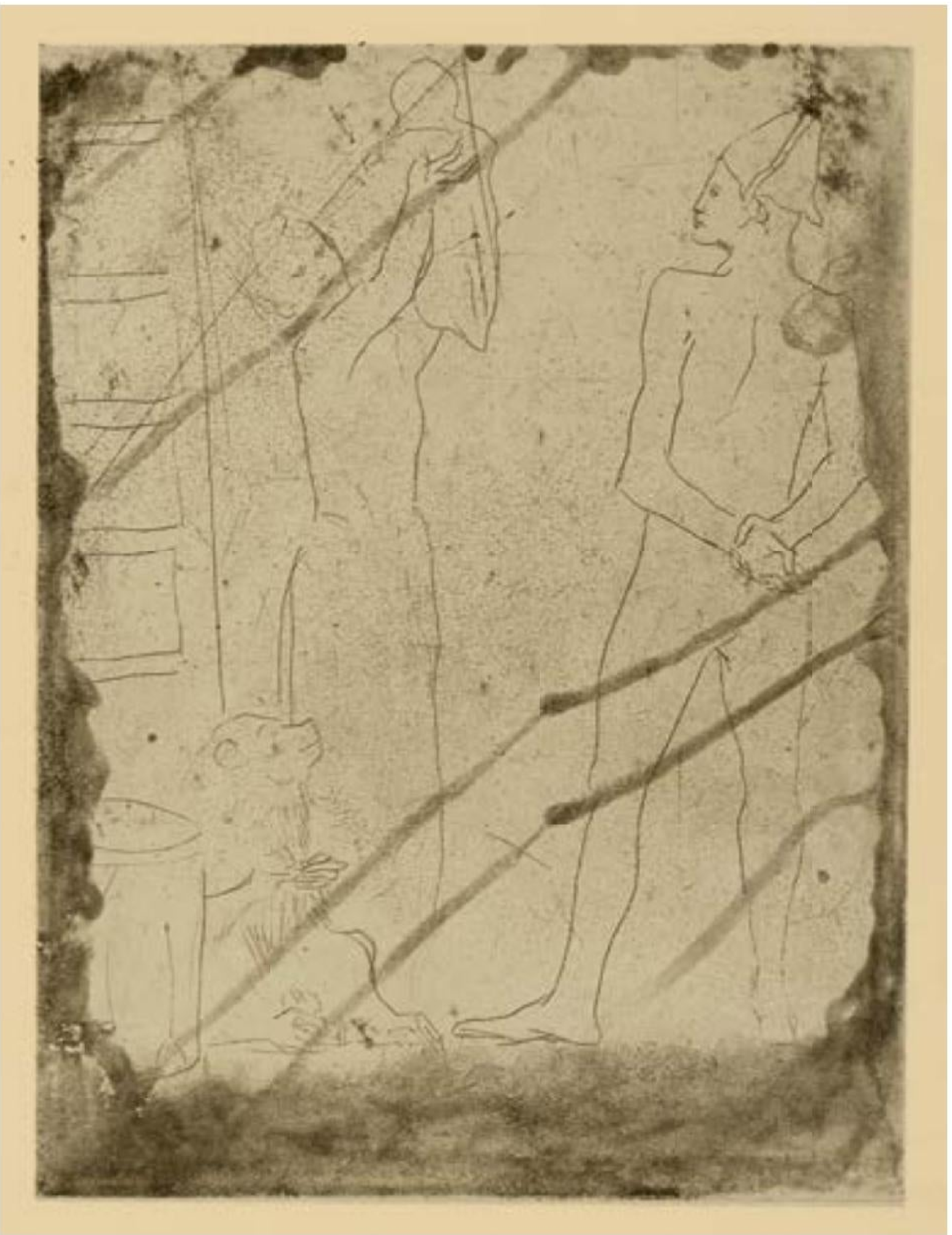


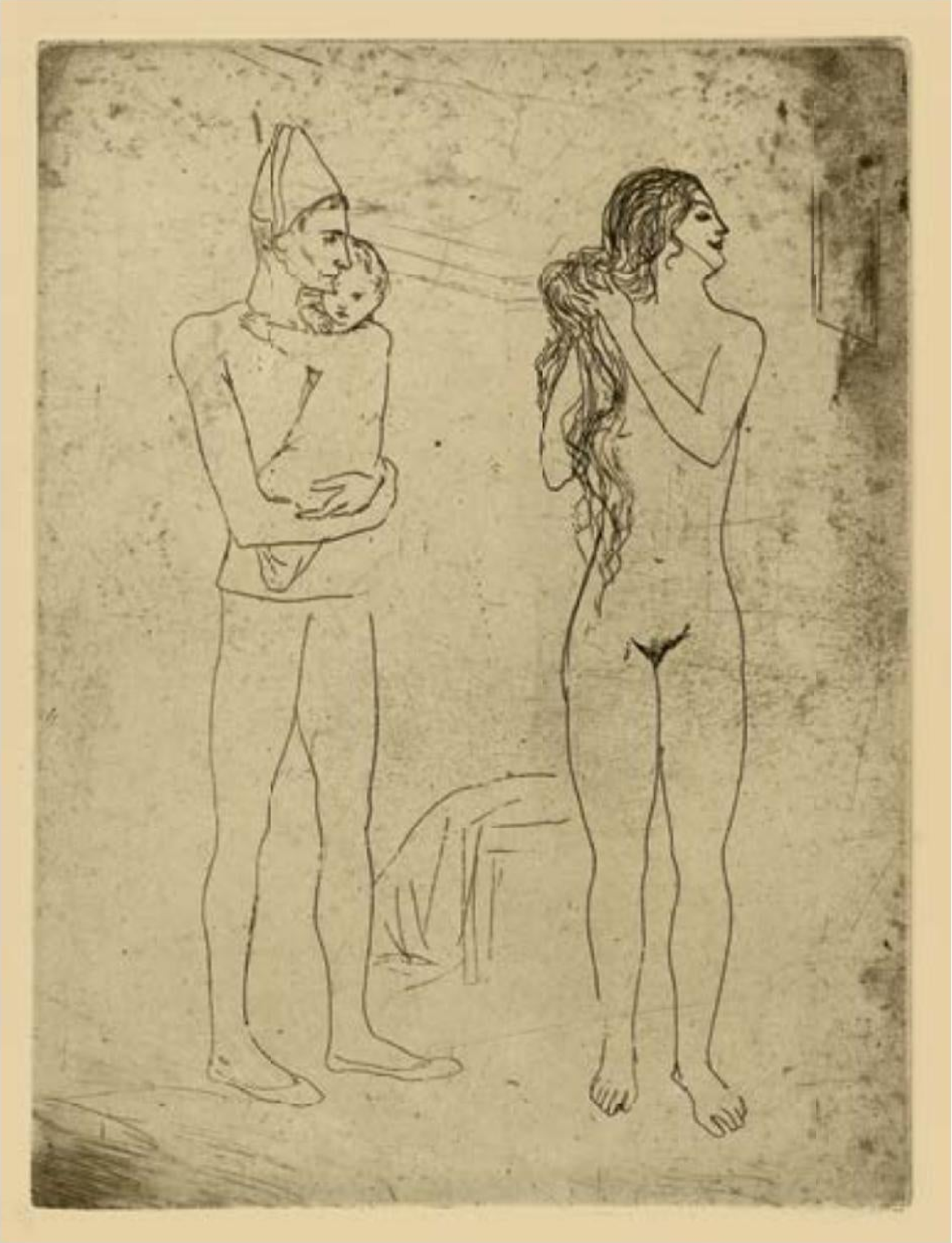


Au cirque
(At the Circus)
1905

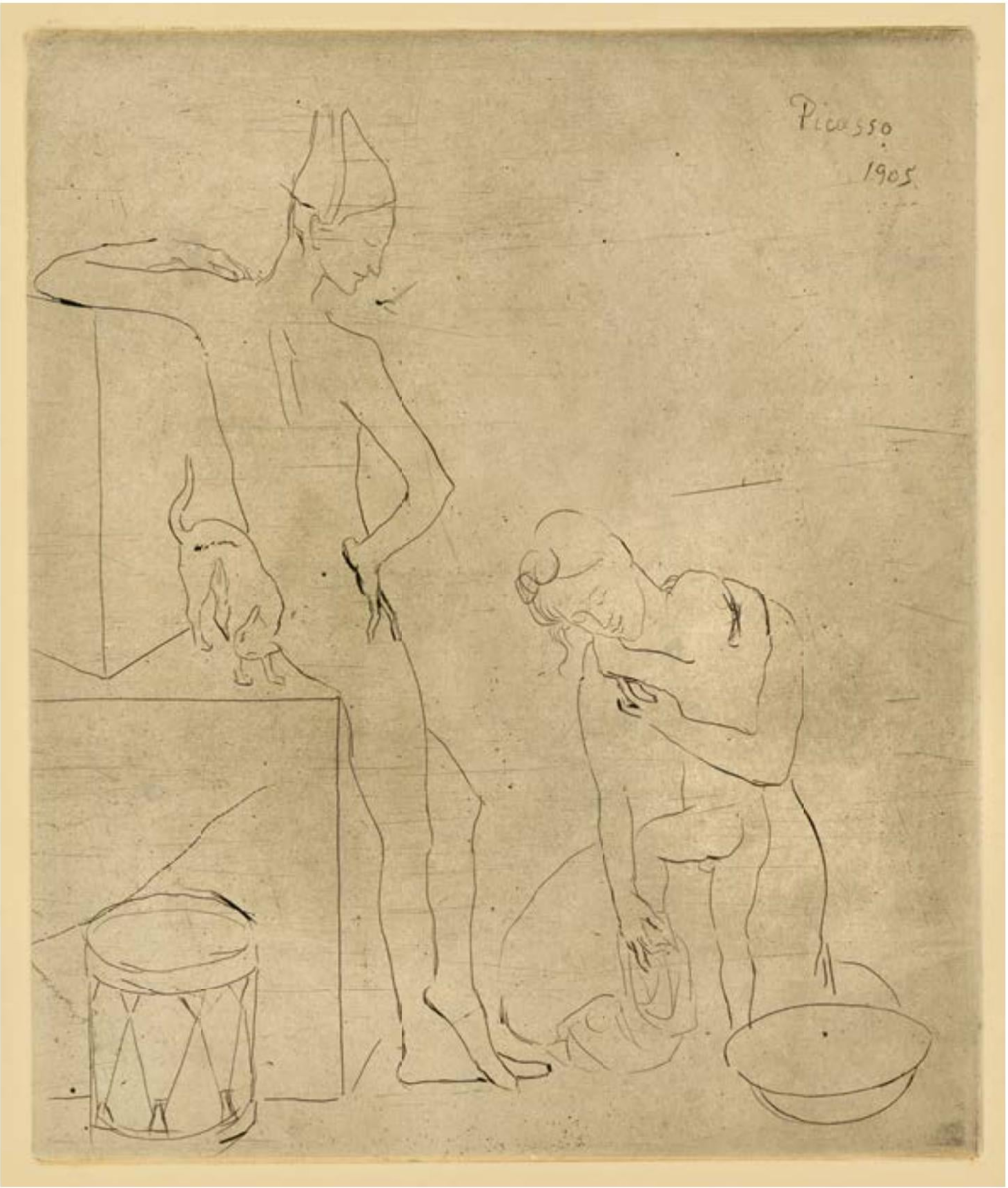
La Famille de saltimbanques au macaque
(Family of Acrobats with Macaque)
1905

La Toilette de la mère
(Mother at Her Toilette)
1905

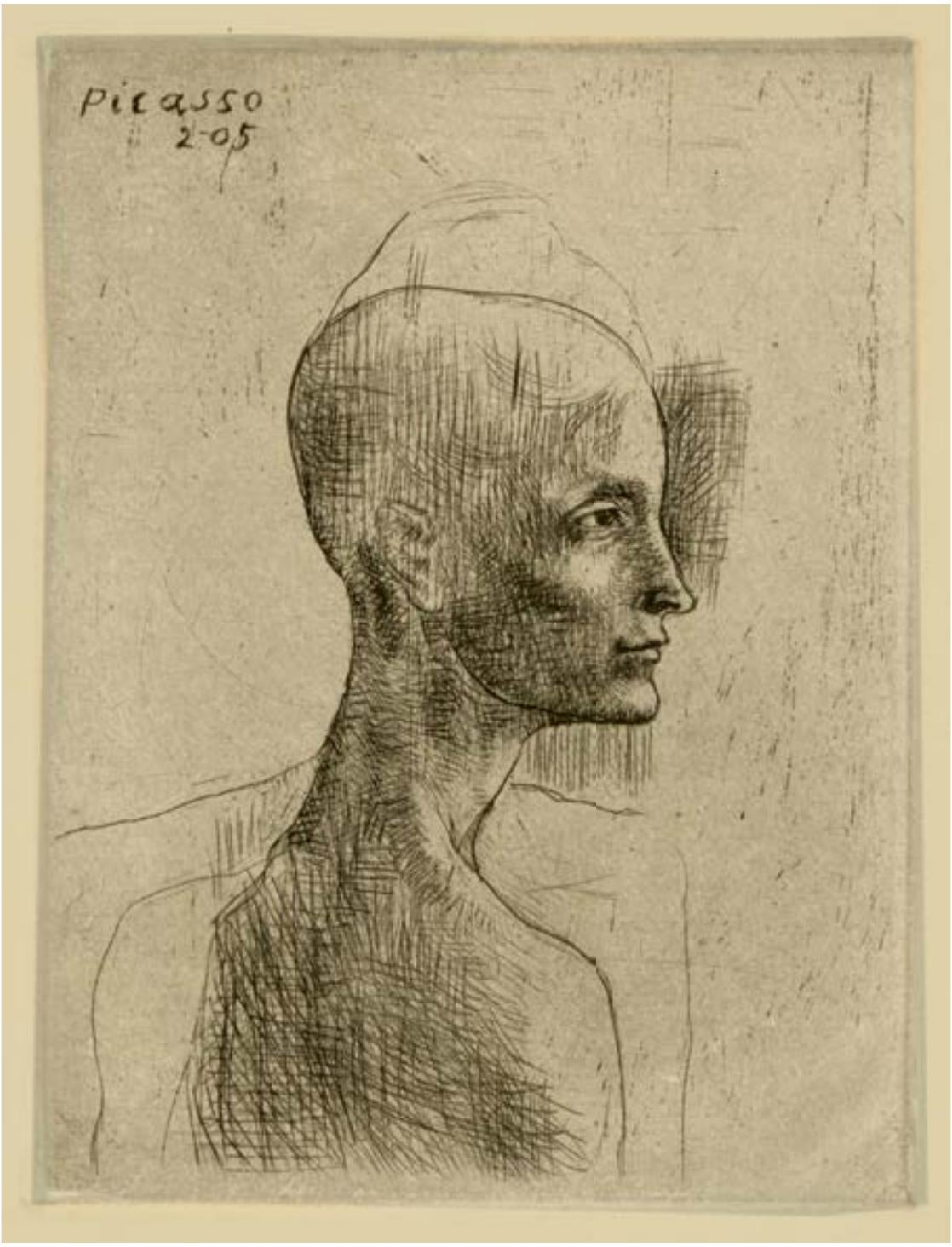


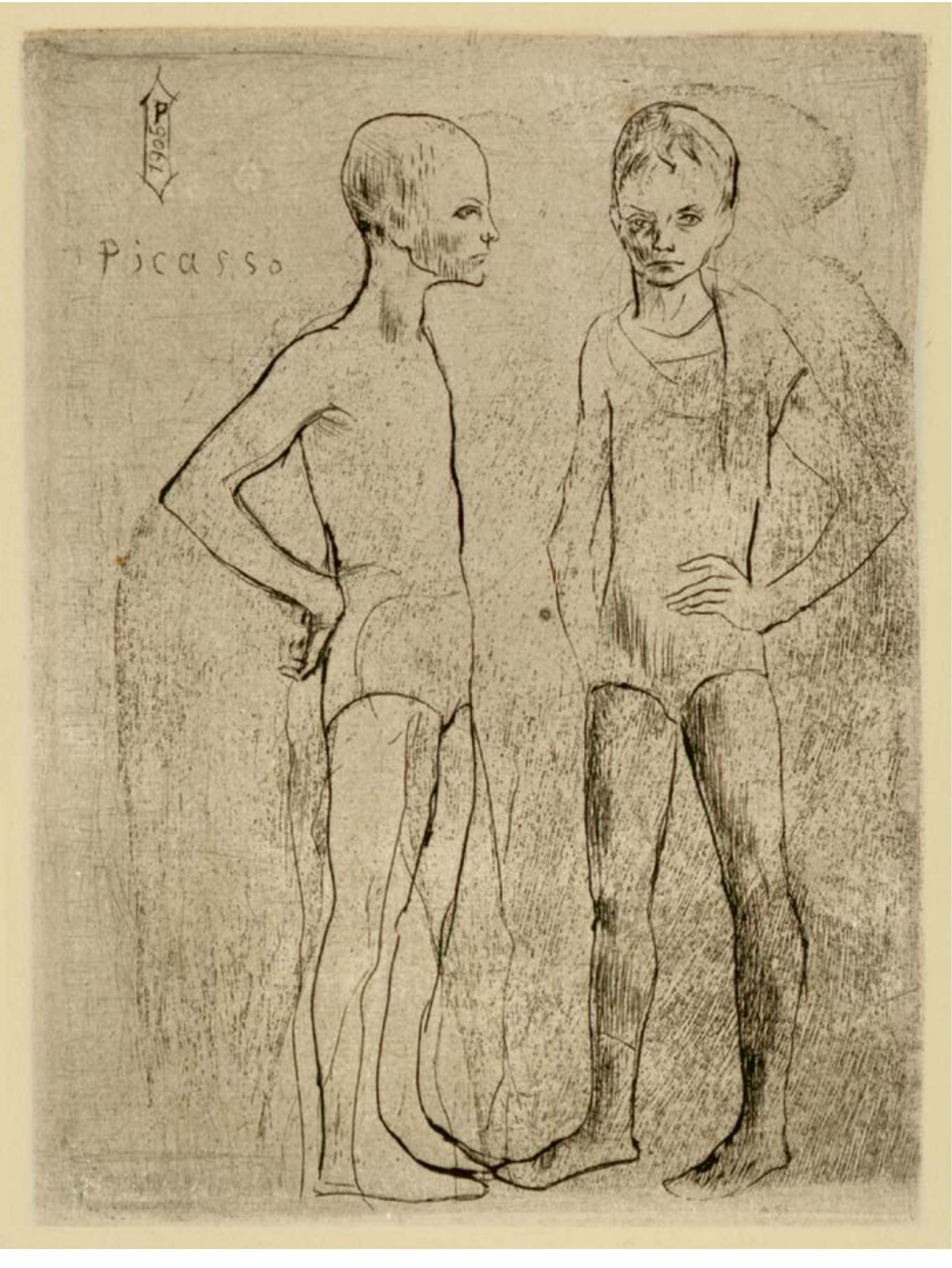


Le Bain de l'enfant
(The Child's Bath)
1905


Picasso
1905

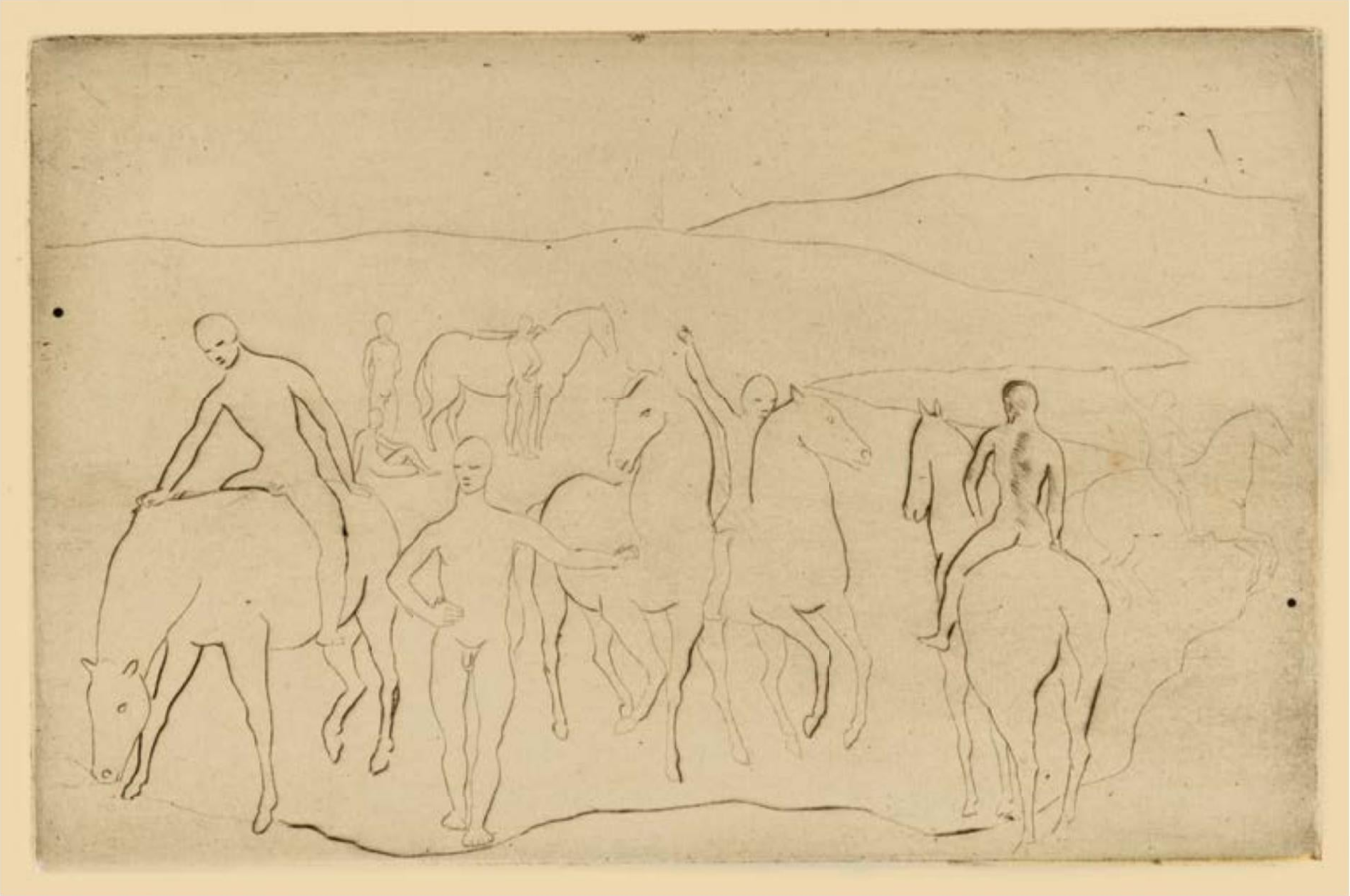
Buste d’homme
(Bust of a Man)
1905


Picasso
2-05

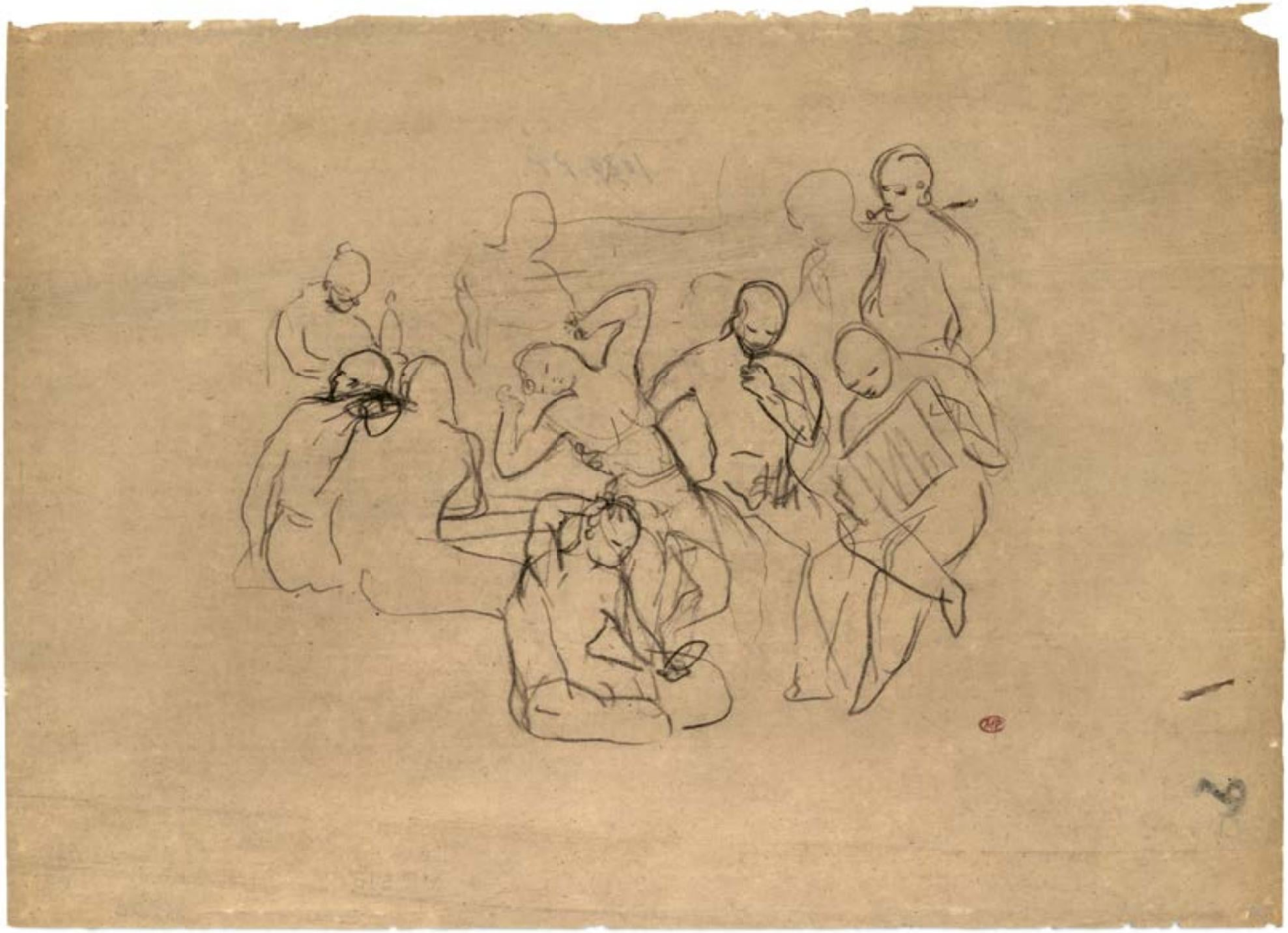

P
1905
Picasso

Les Deux Saltimbanques
(The Two Acrobats)
1905–06

L'Abreuvoir
(The Watering Place)
1905



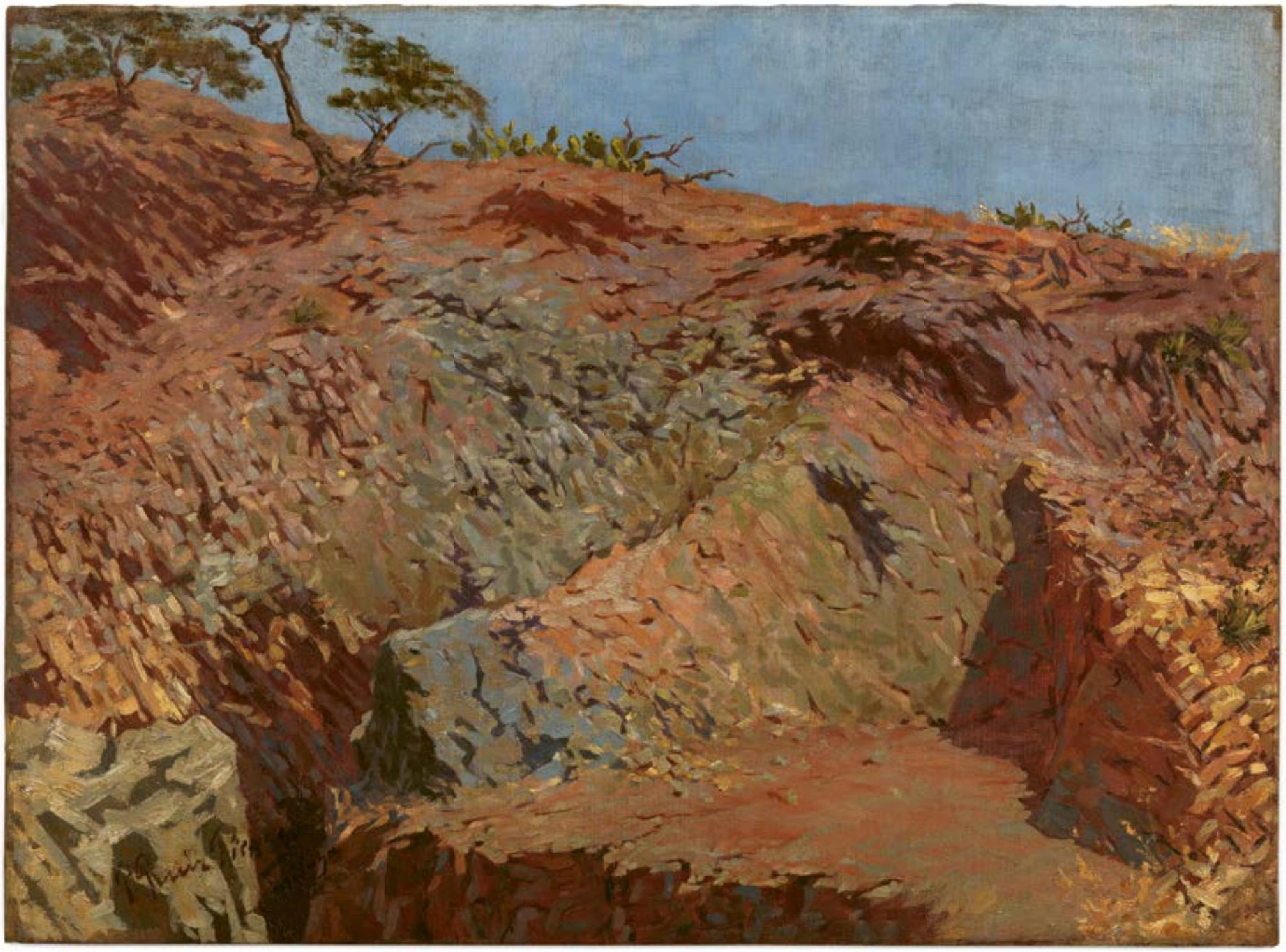
Saltimbanques au repos: musique et danse
(Acrobats in Repose: Music and Dance)
1905–06



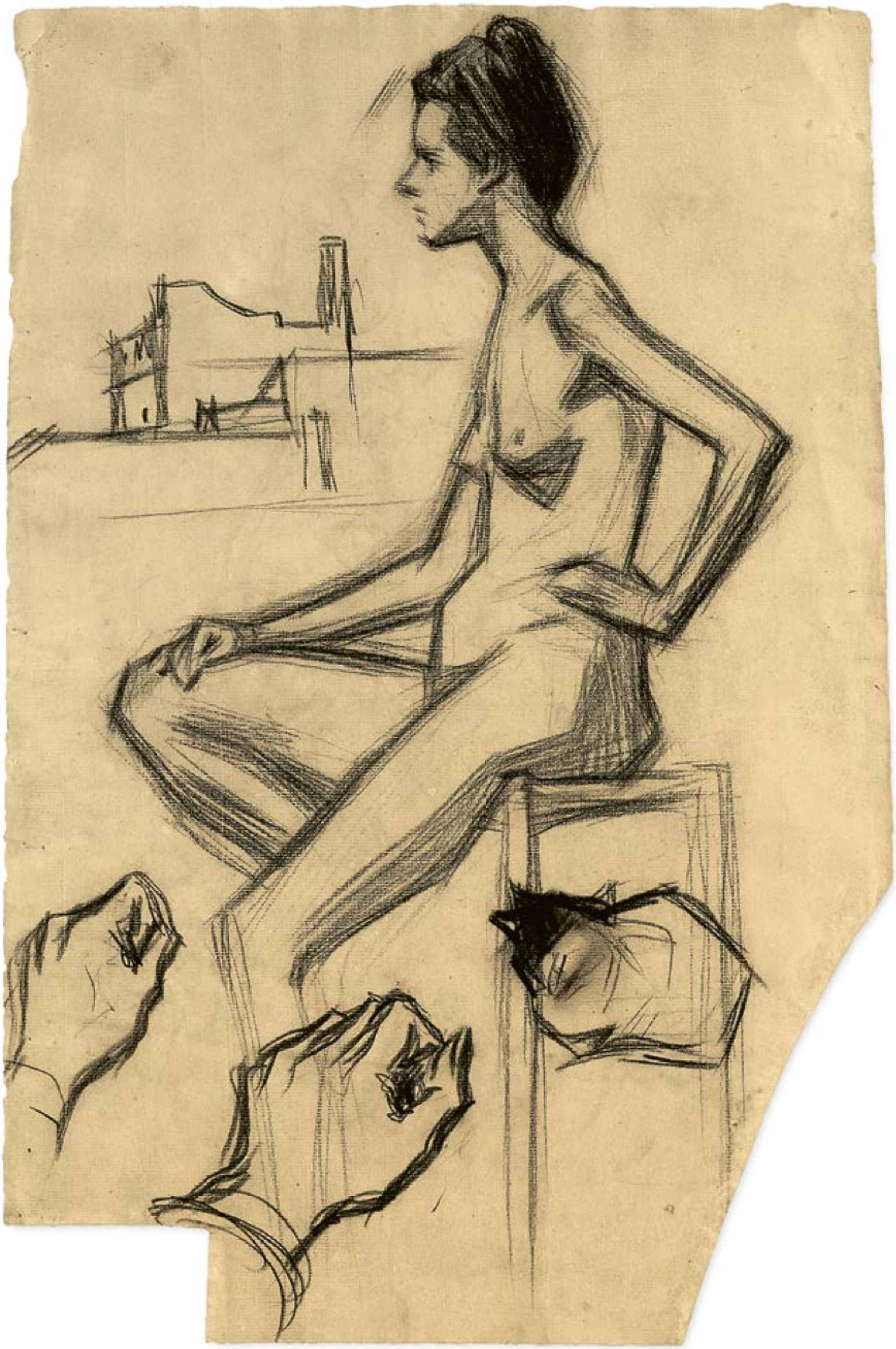
Toward the Body

Body and Subject

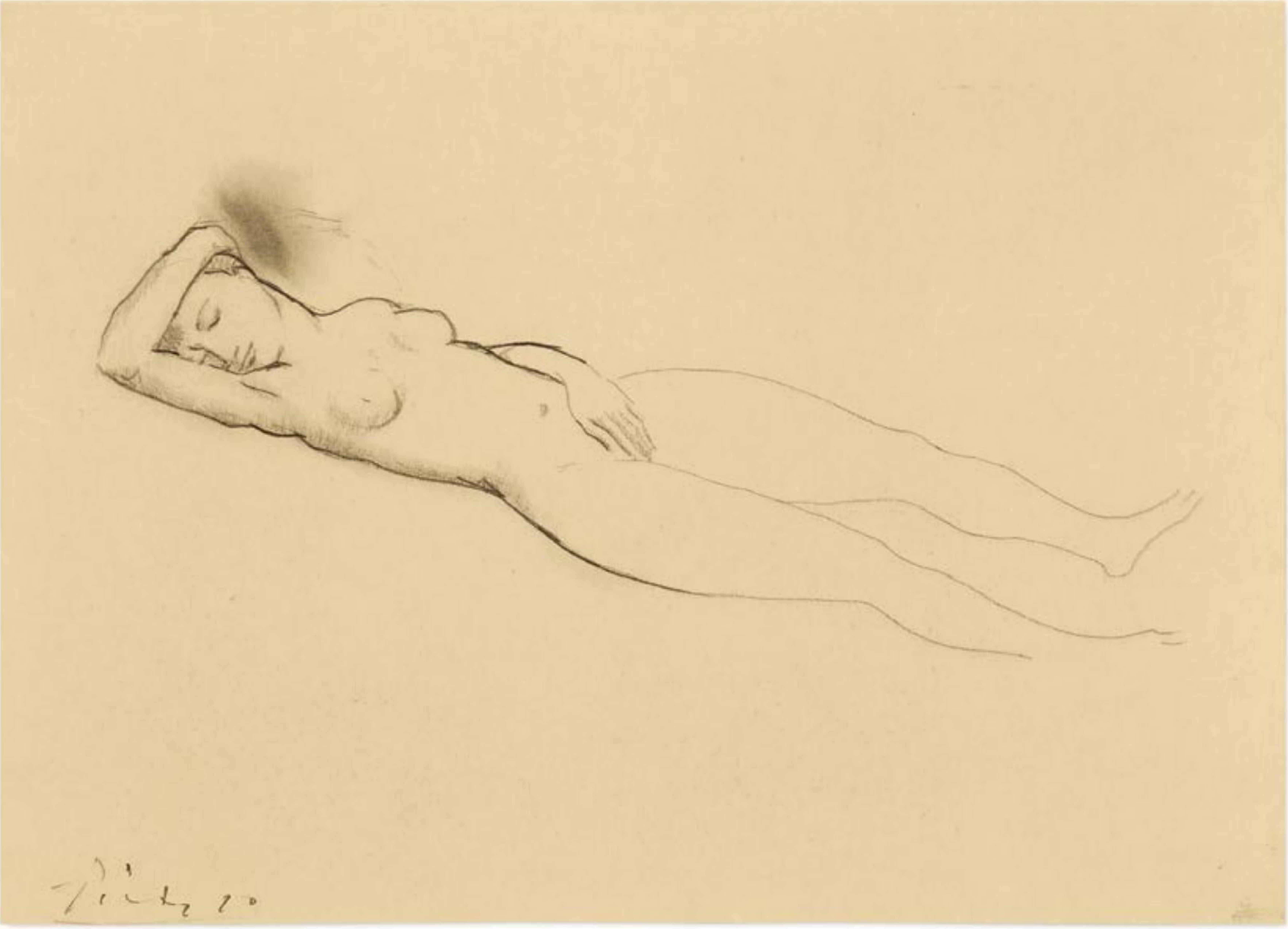
Montañas de Málaga
(Mountains of Málaga)
June–July 1896



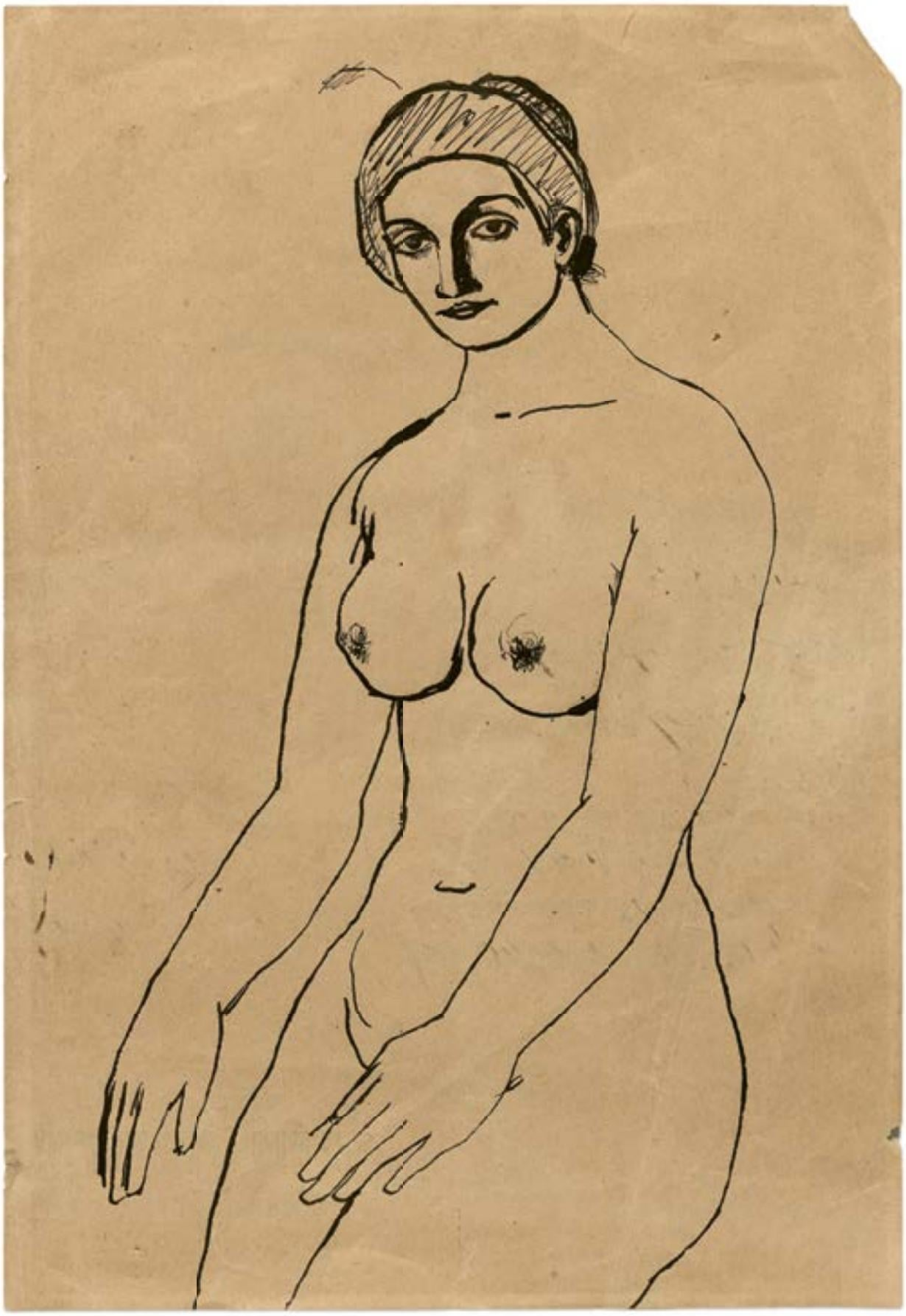
Mujer desnuda sentada
(Seated Female Nude)
1899



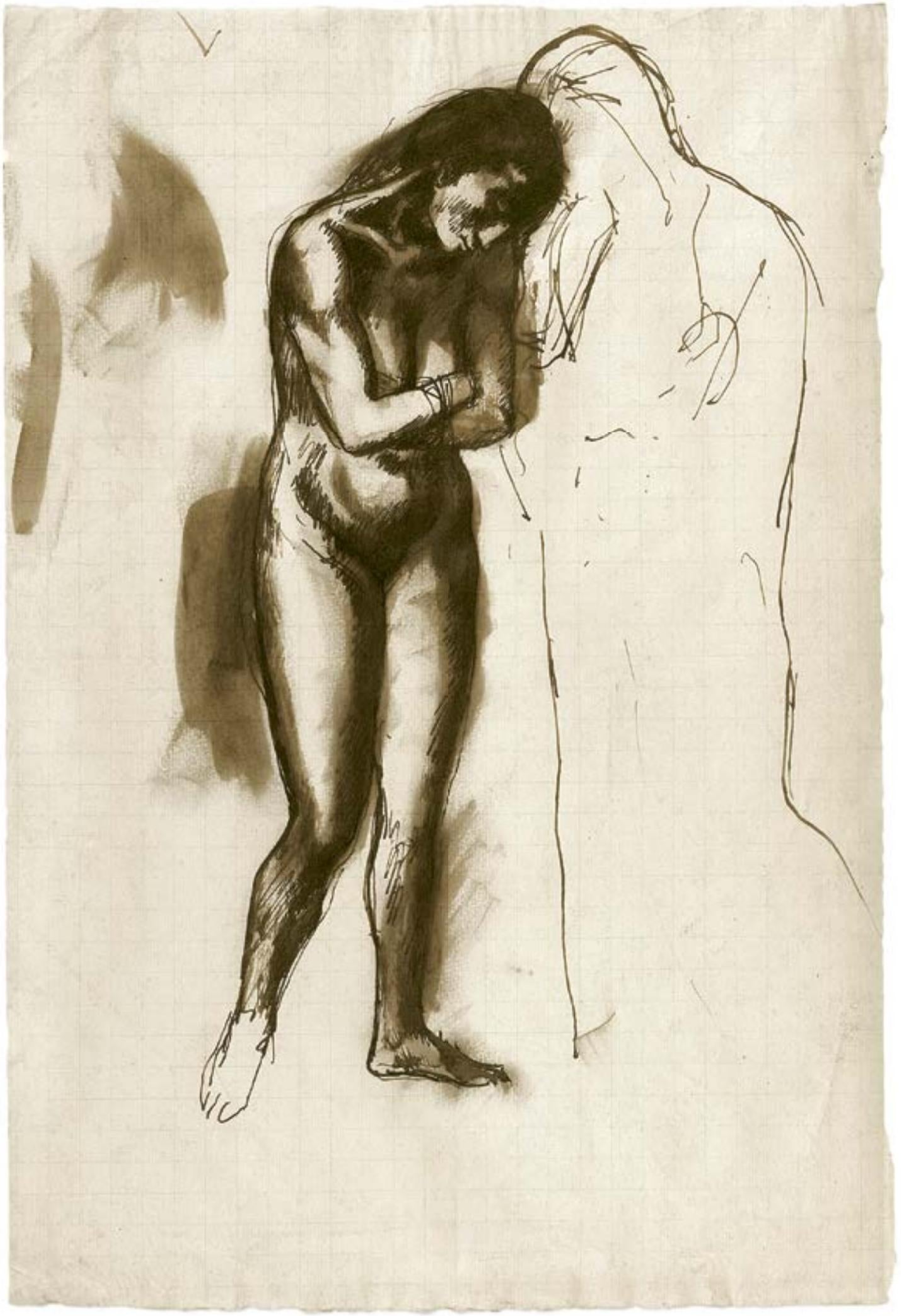
Femme allongée
(Reclining Woman)
1902



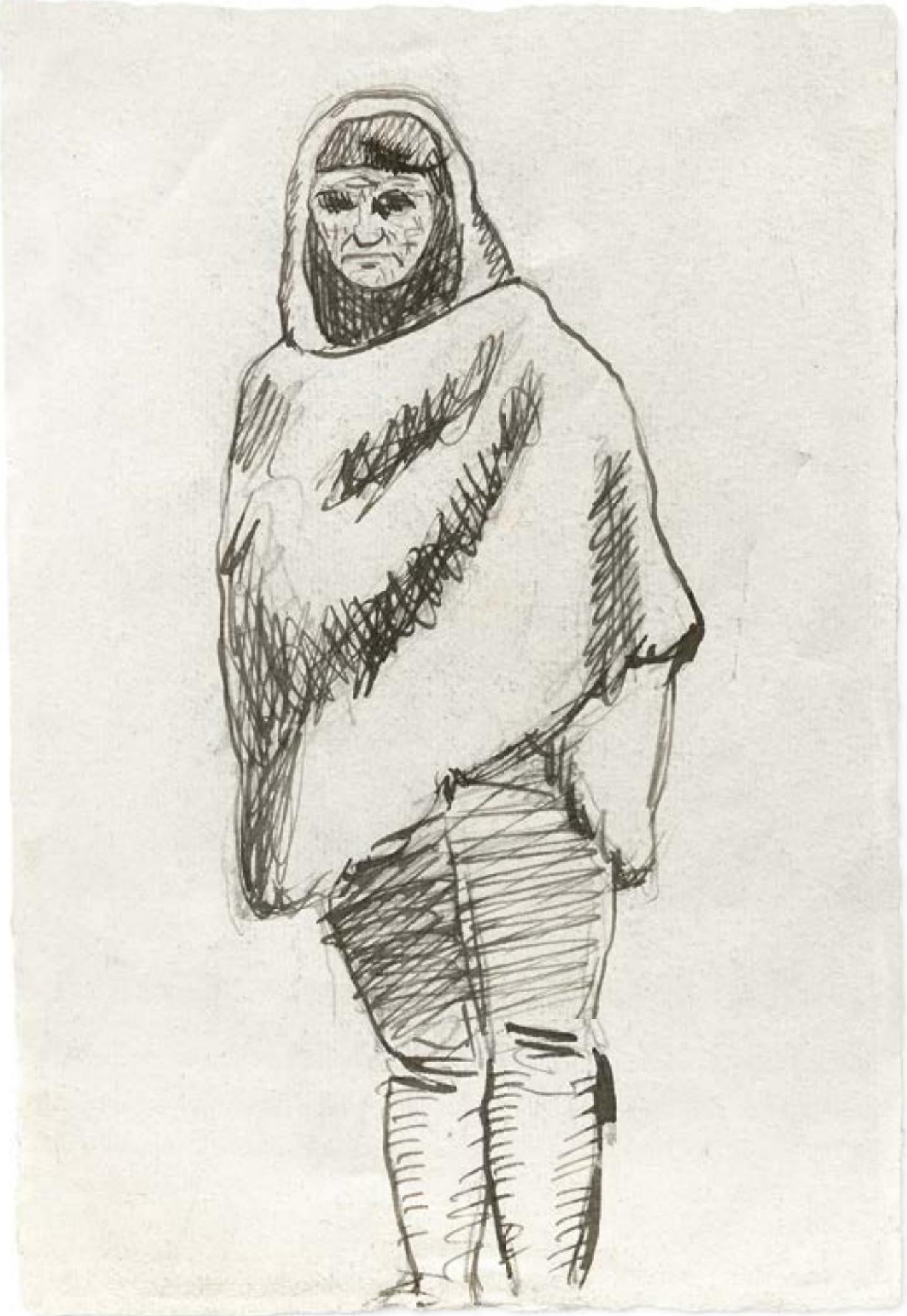
Desnudo femenino
(Female Nude)
1902



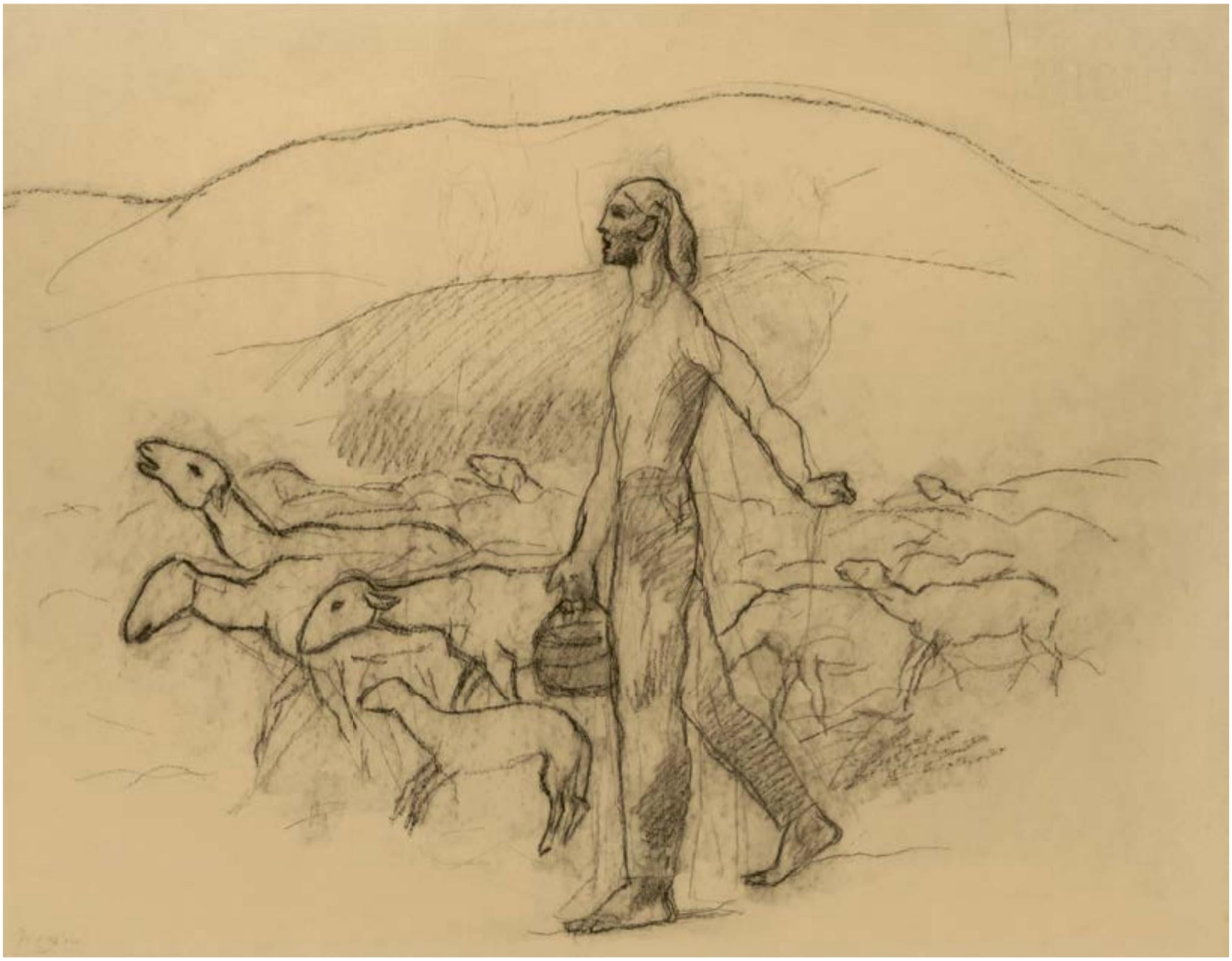
Estudio para “Dos hermanas”
(Study for “Two Sisters”)
1902



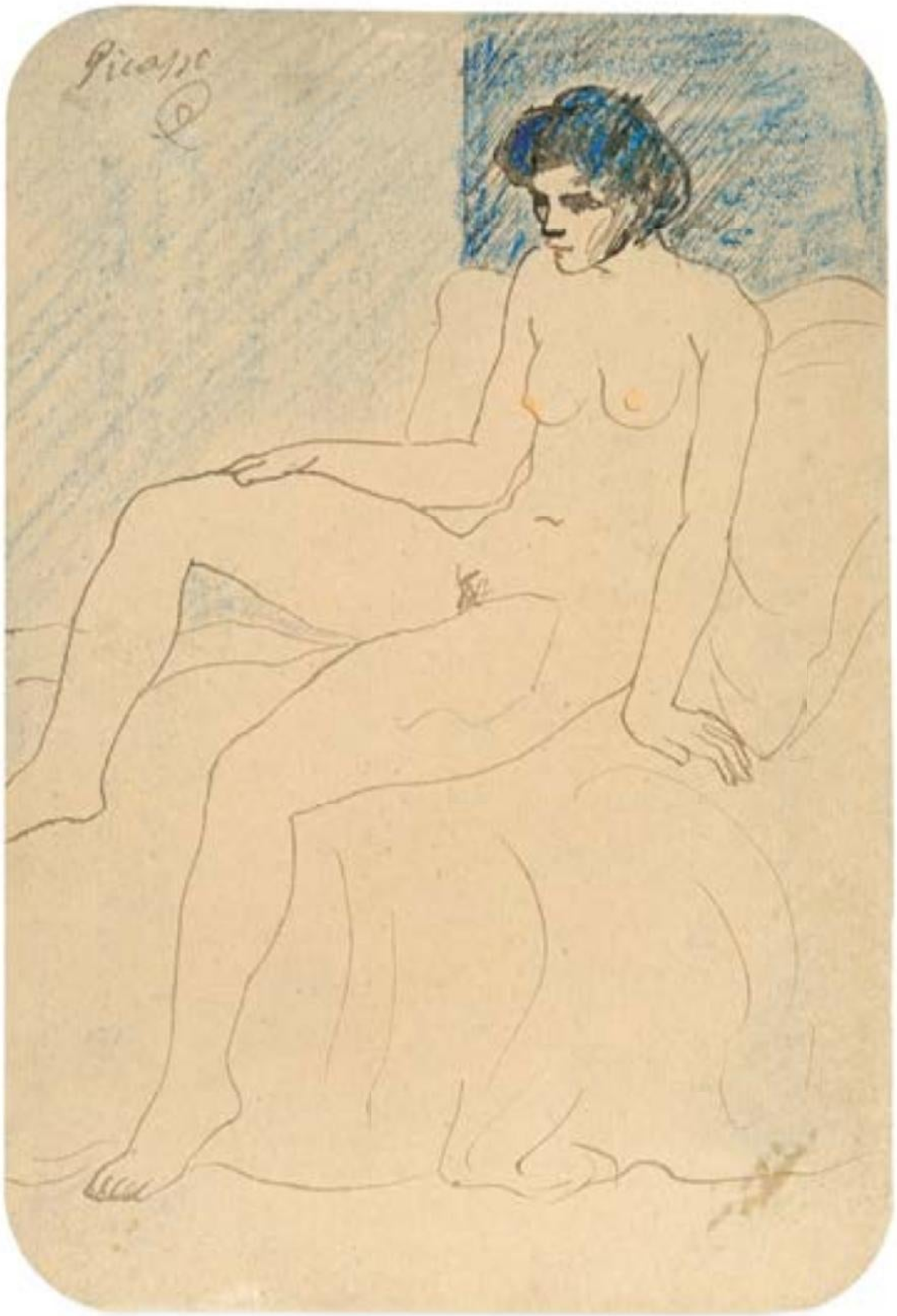
Campesino
(Peasant)
1902



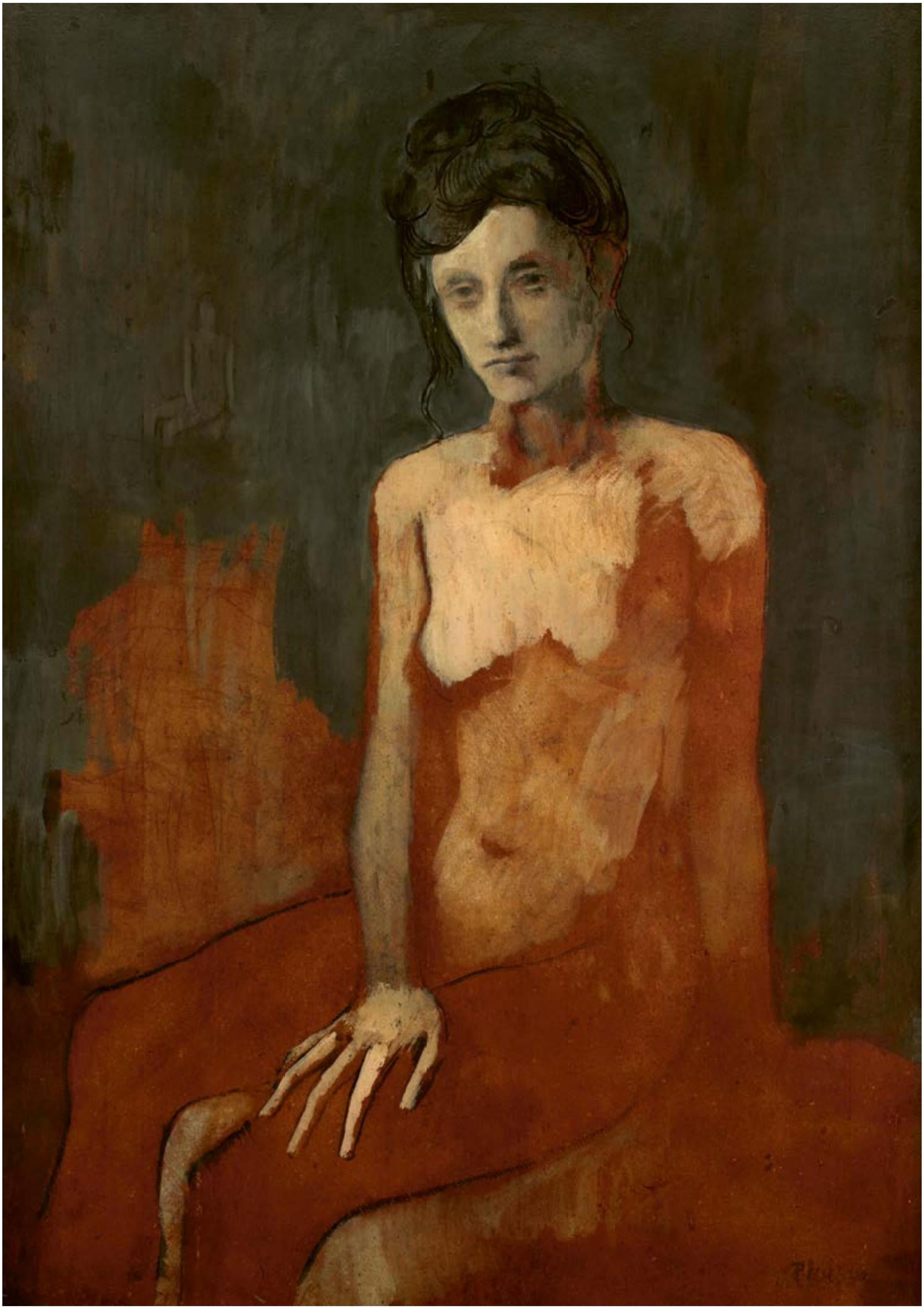
Le Berger
(The Shepherd)
1903



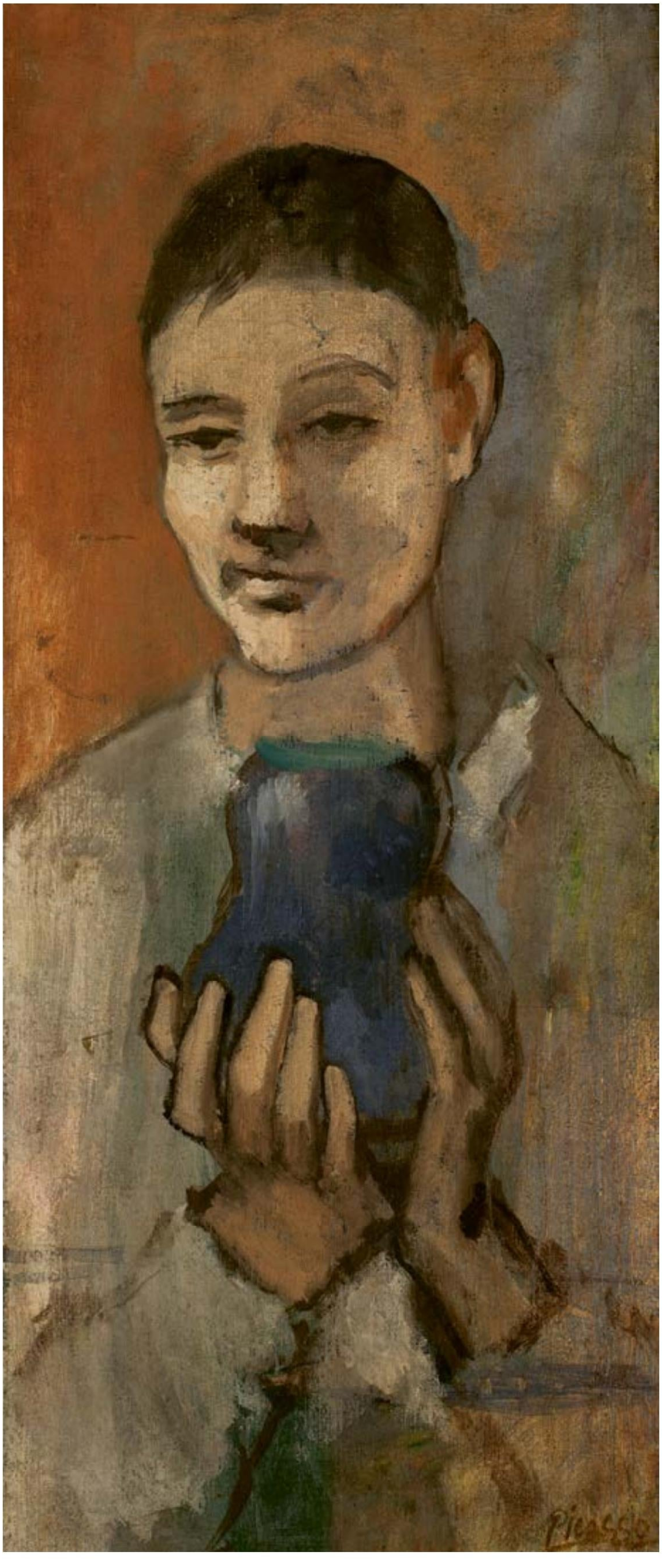
Nu assis
(Seated Nude)
1905



Femme nue
(Nude Woman)
ca. 1903



Boy Holding a Blue Vase
1905


Picasso

A New Golden Age, New Art

2

A new Picasso emerges through the joyous representation of the body in relation to untamed nature but especially in contained, lyrical interior scenes. Although critics often relate them to classical Greek art, these figures seem to in fact evoke Roman domestic art. Picasso even seems to sometimes be carrying out a rereading of his formative academic training. He avoids defining musculature to shift from the inherited notion of the nude to the idea of representations of the body. But, in any case, the classical focus in the Picasso of 1906 lasts but a moment. He quickly moves beyond it in his interest in the "primitive" and "archaic" and in his constant dialogue with Cézanne and El Greco. He encodes his reworking of artistic experience in these referents. The "body" signifier takes on a doubled signified through the visual language that defines it.

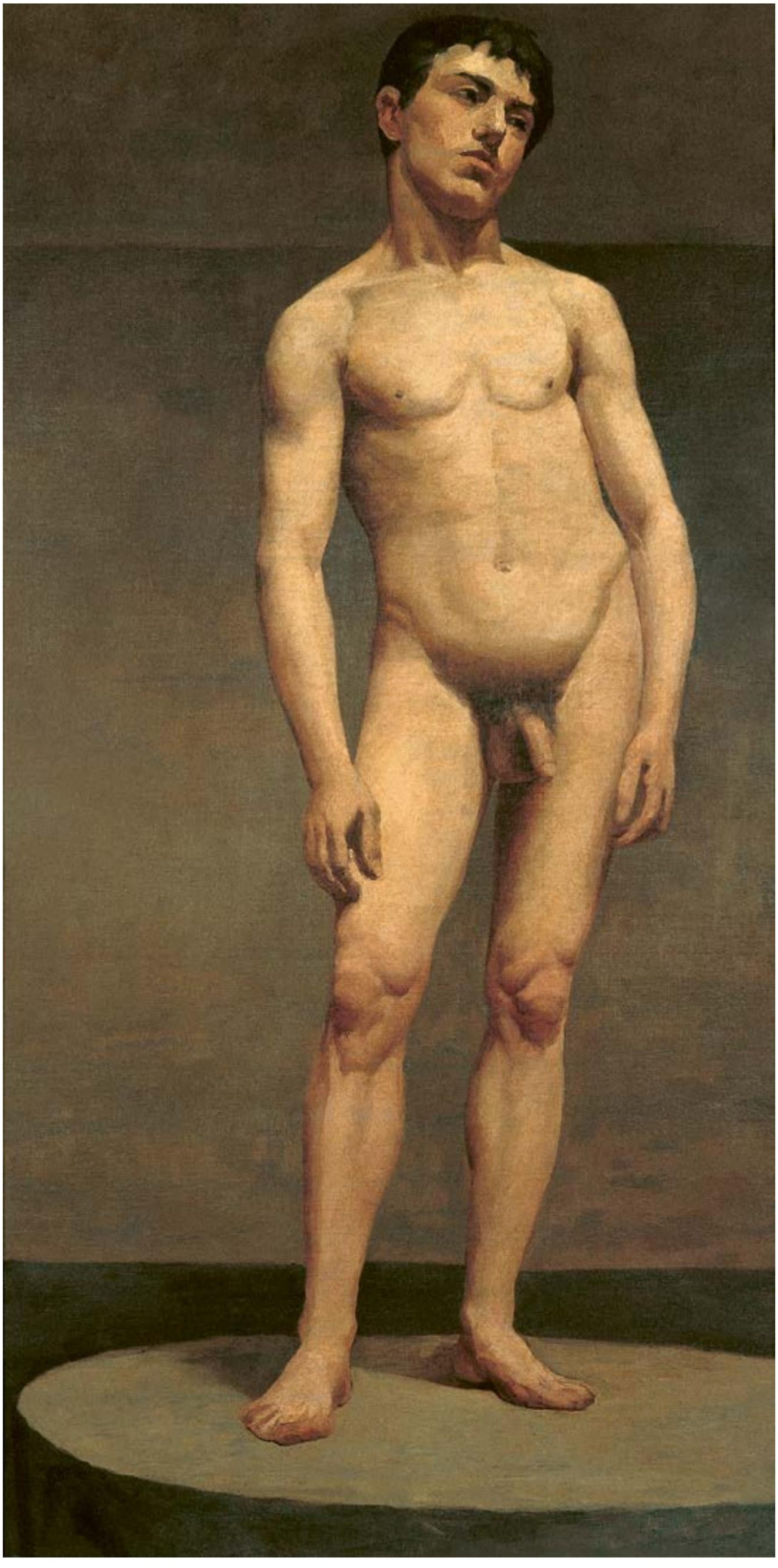
These nudes by Picasso could, according to some scholars, be related to homoerotic or ethnographic photography. Picasso was also familiar with images reproduced in magazines we would today refer to as fitness themed, which Apollinaire worked for. Every one of Picasso's 1906 images contains a complex set of intertextualities.

Despite his ties to libertarian milieux and his lived experiences shaped by otherness, Picasso continued to perpetuate certain gender structures produced by patriarchal societies. His male figures are presentative and confident and make eye contact with the viewer. The bodies of young women, on the other hand, "receive" the gaze as they are burst in upon in their private moments. This does not imply that Picasso did not also deconstruct some of these structures. He eroticized male bodies. He represented female bodies with grace and opted for a subtle interplay between what is conventionally considered masculine and what is considered feminine. There is even, in his work, a tendency toward gender fluidity, as he turned female figures from the history of painting into male ones.

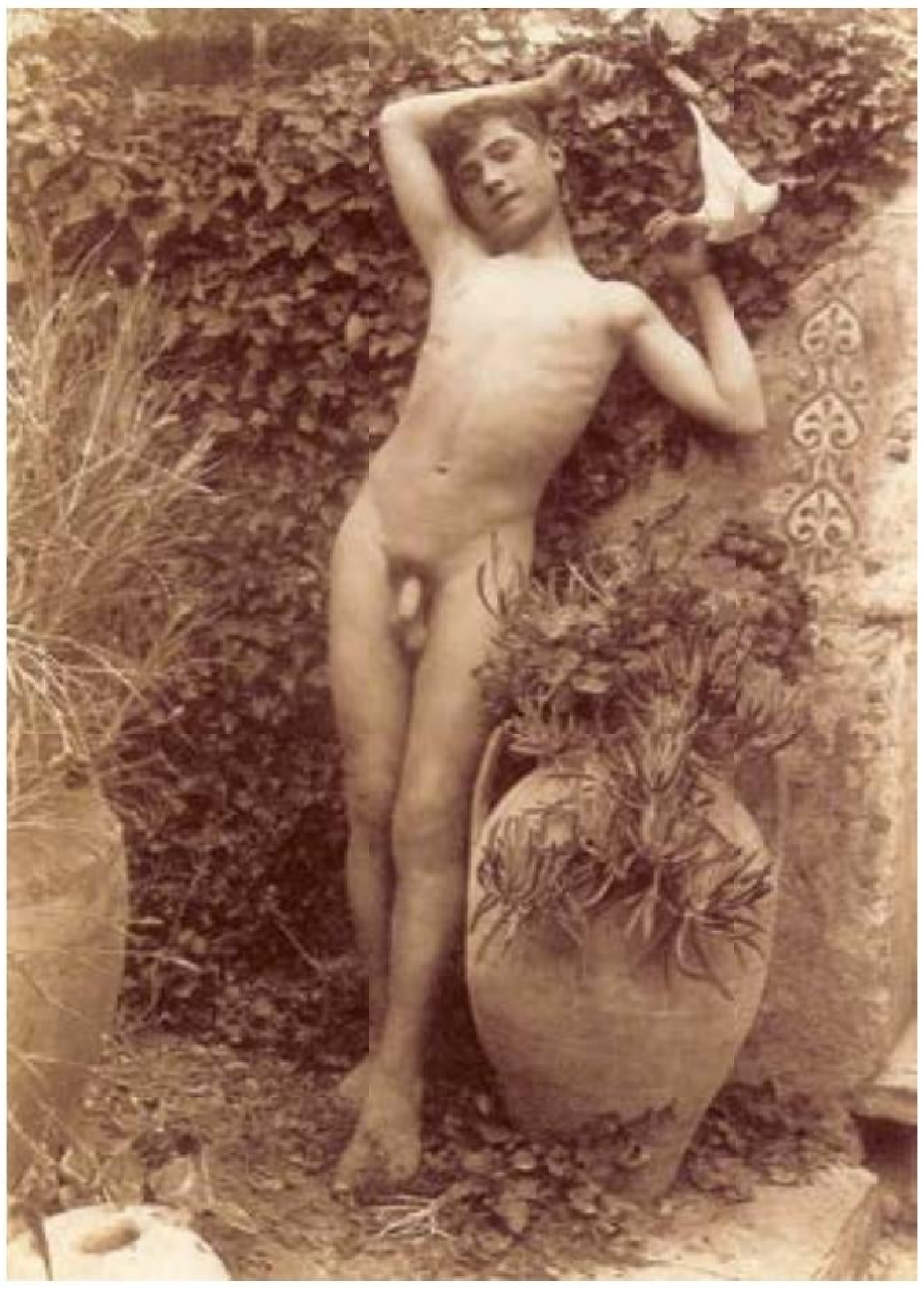
Most of the young women—although also some of the boys—allude, via paraphrase, to goddesses and mythological figures from antiquity. With this, Picasso transcended the quotidian and humanized the divine, or fused the two different planes into one. This was his way of subverting the relationship between high and low culture. For example, in the *La Toilette* series there is an underlying evocation of the history of the vanity of Venus. But some of these young women's faces become masks, a move through which Picasso's interculturality seeks to establish an unexpected relational framework between the annals of art history and the burgeoning concept of "primitive art."

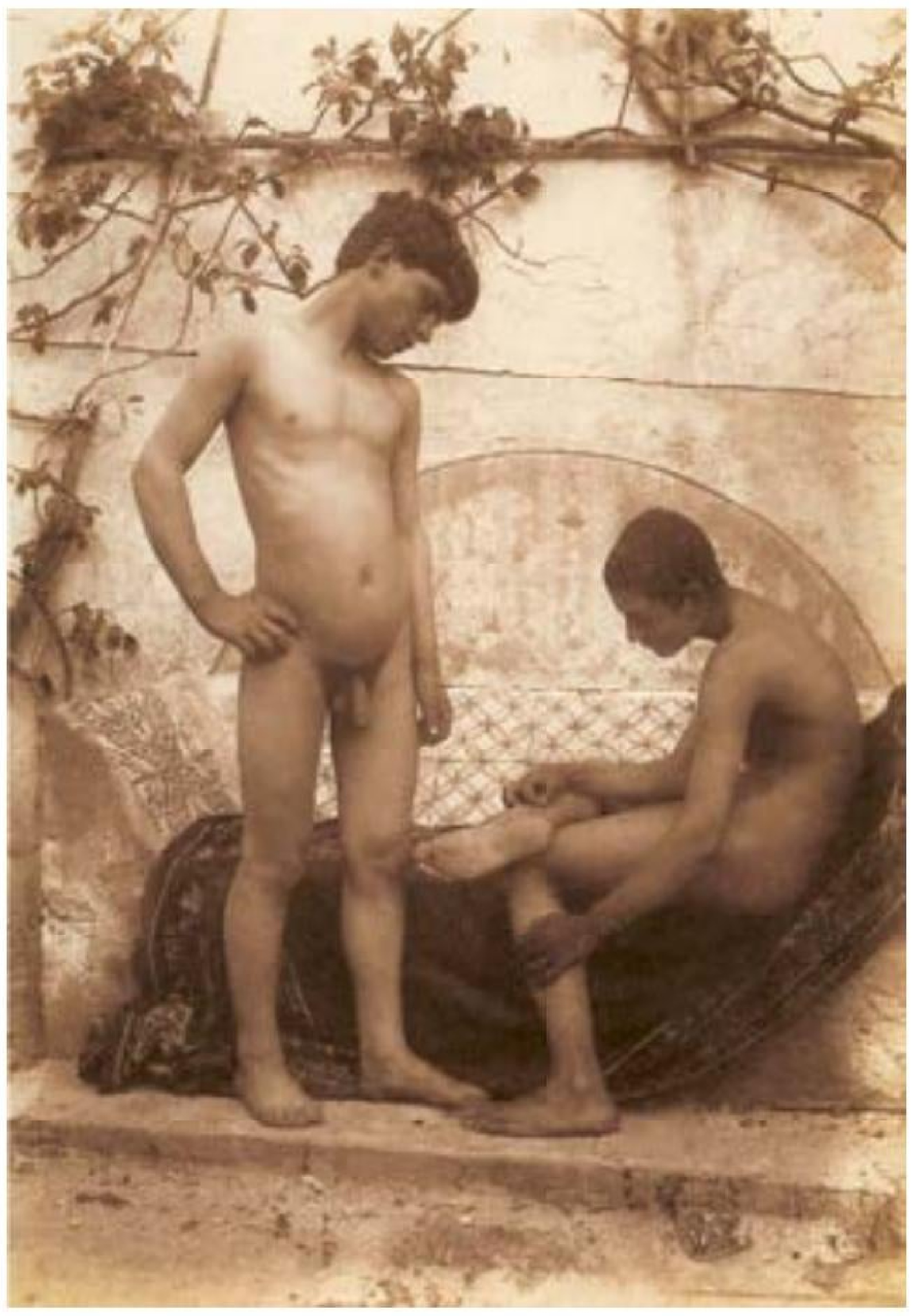
A New Golden Age, New Art
Arcadia

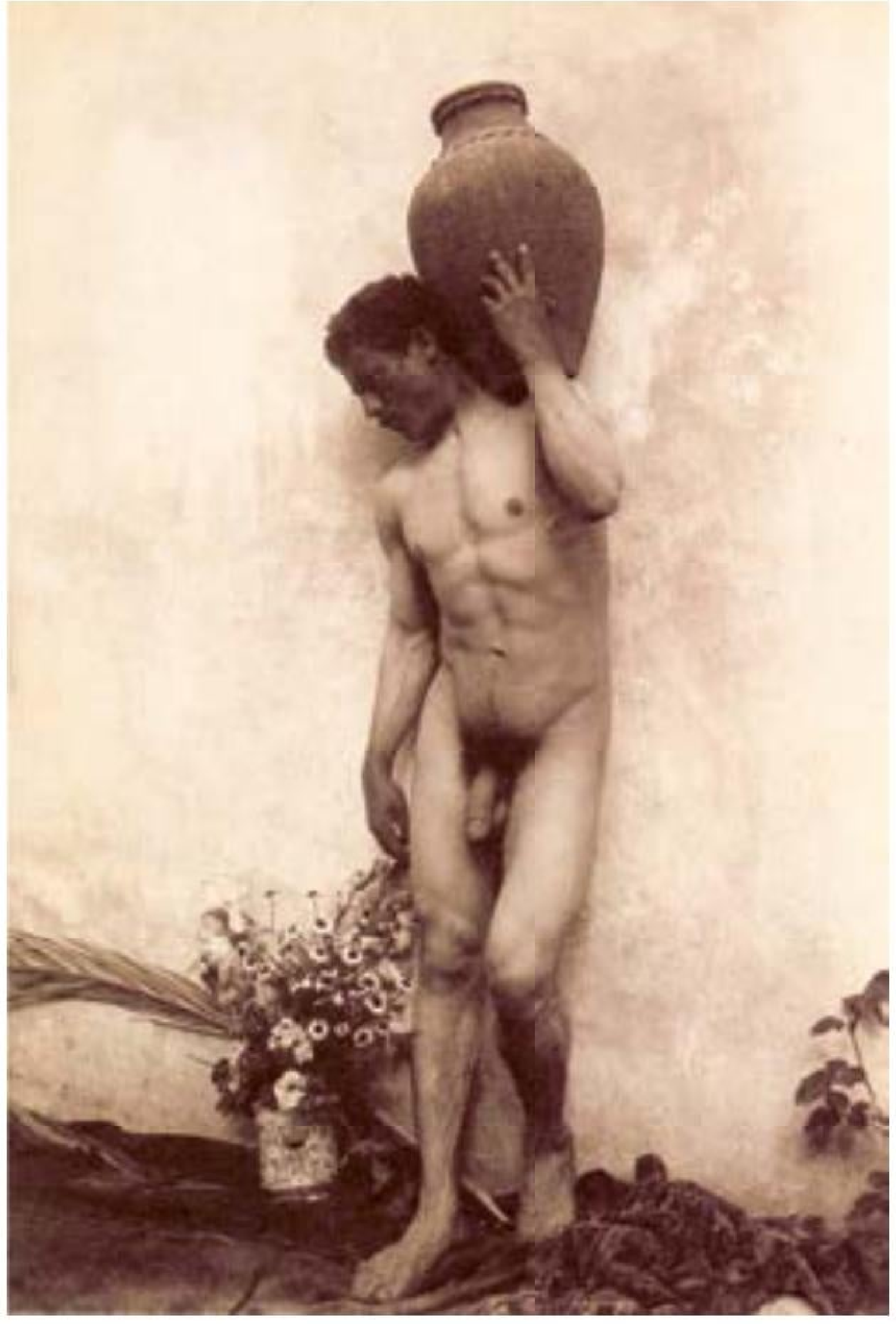
El modelo
(The Model)
1896



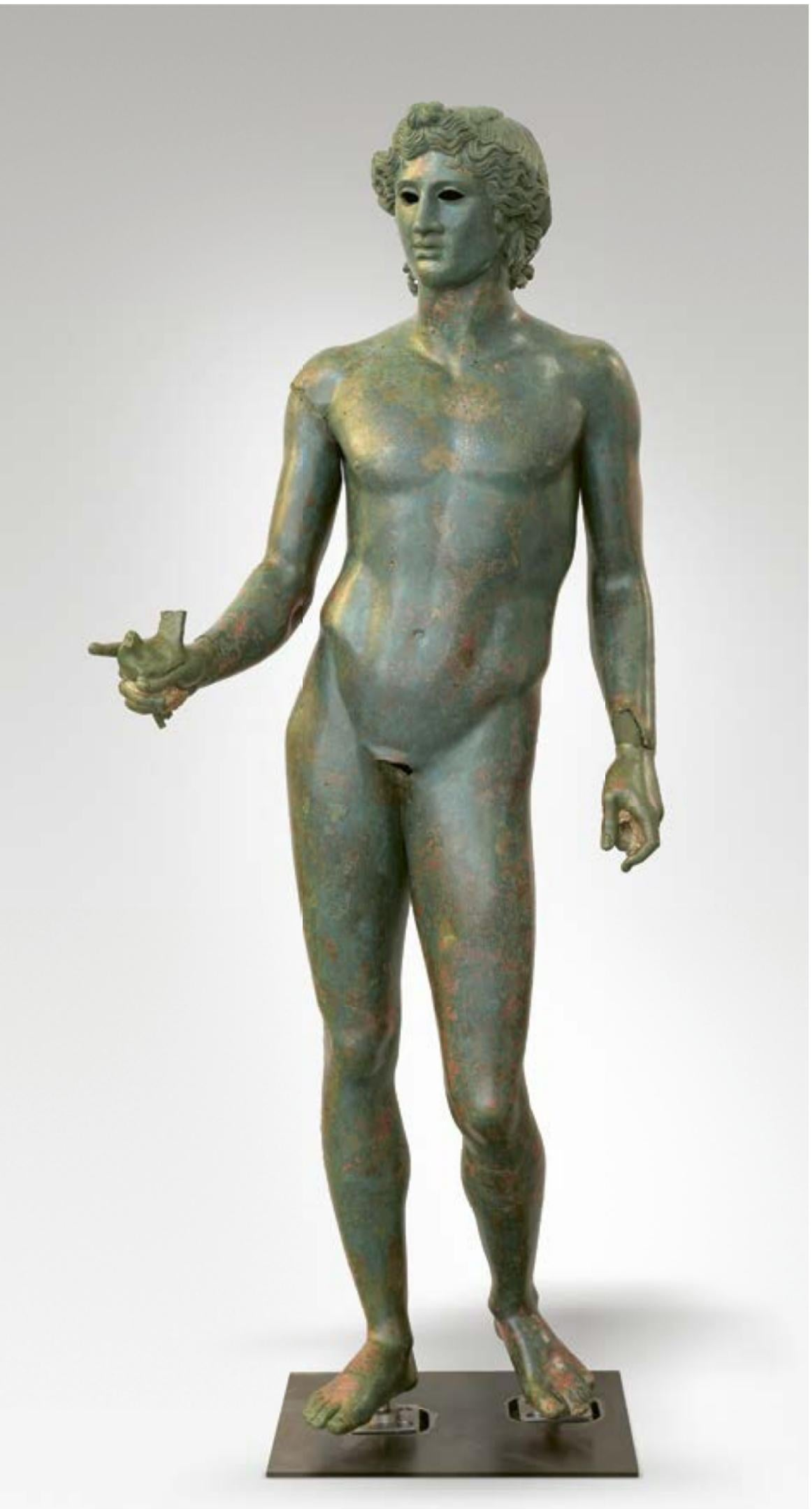
Wilhelm von Gloeden
Photographs of Taormina
ca. 1900

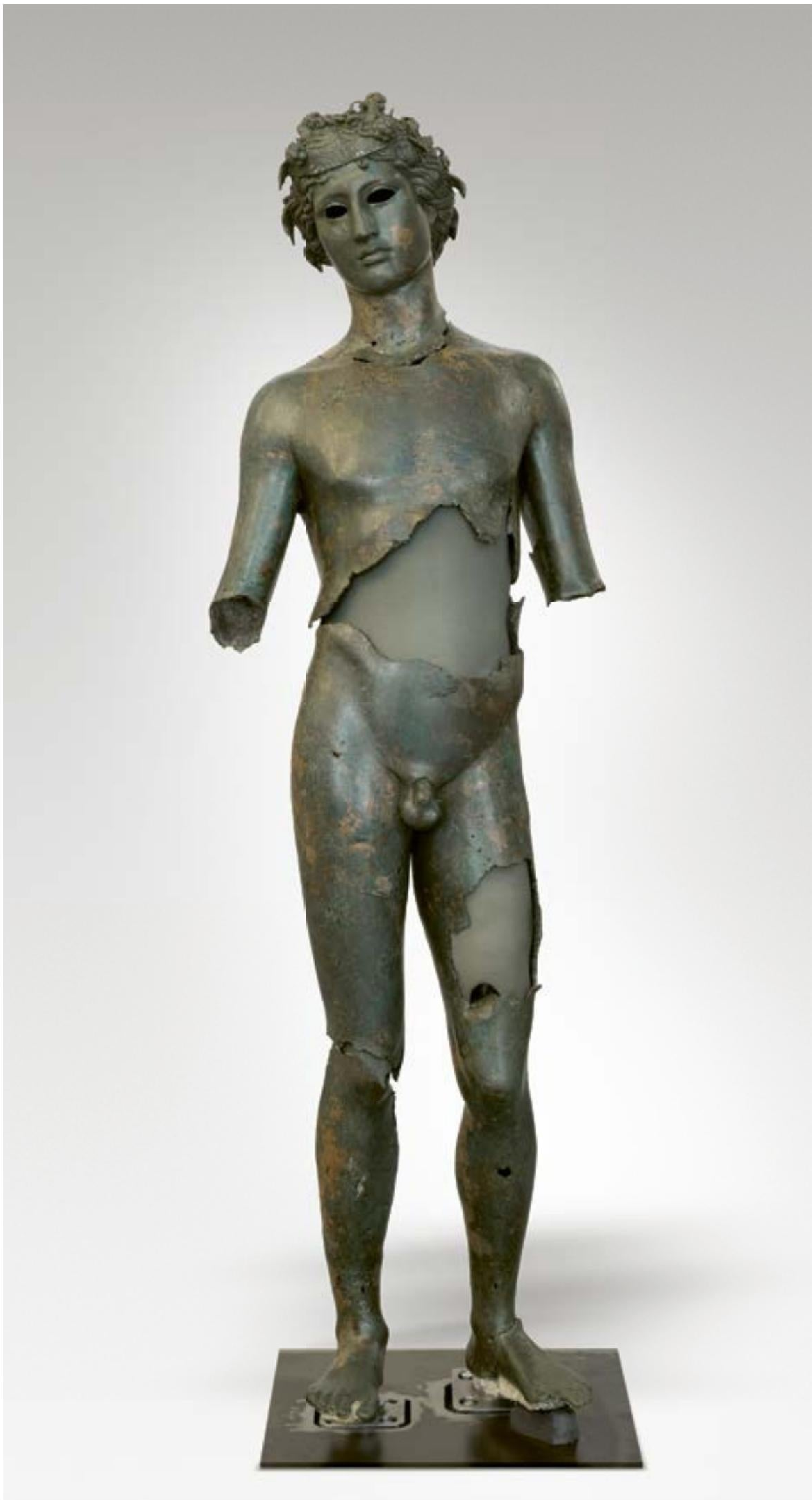




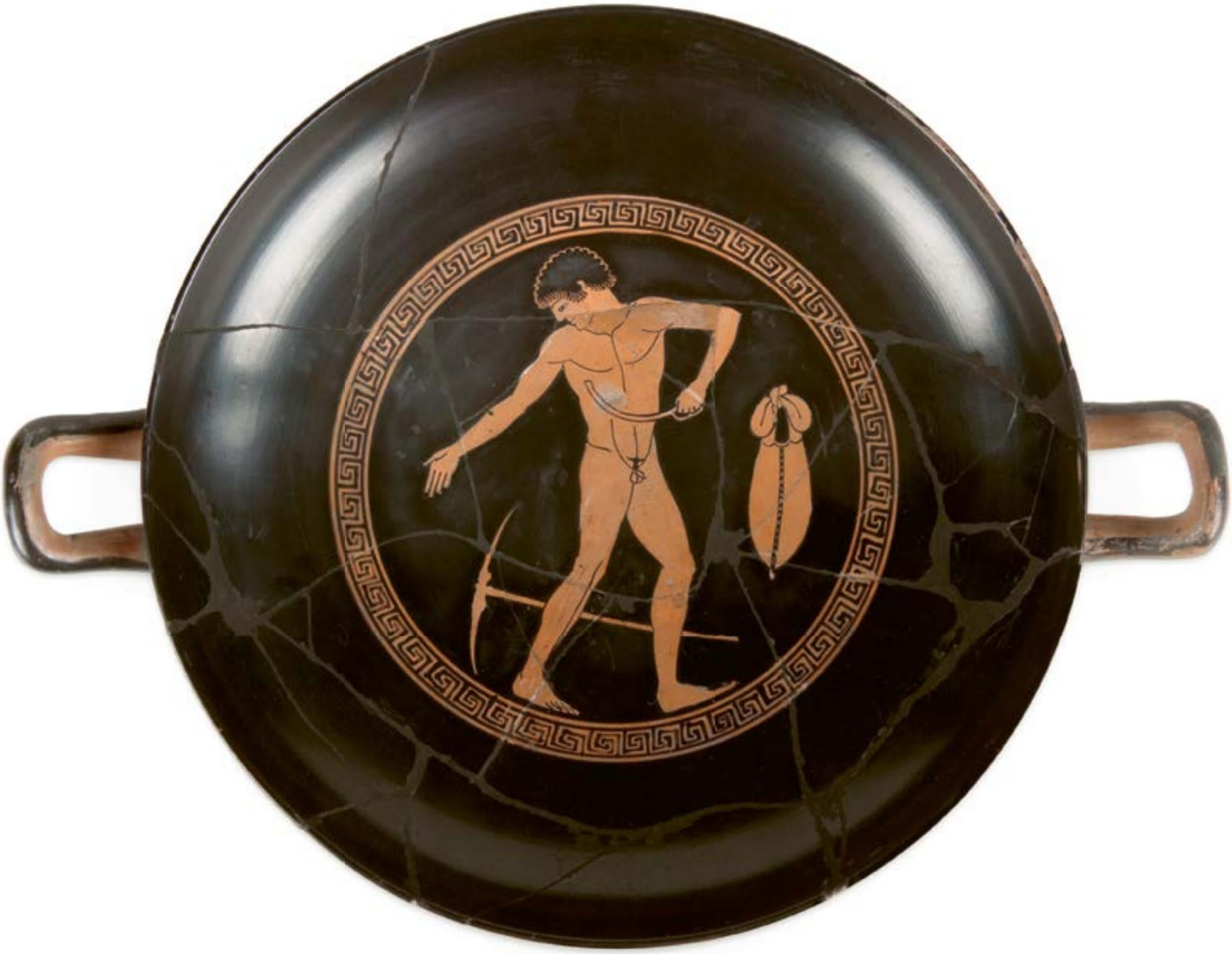


Unknown Author
Efebo apolíneo y dionisíaco
(Apollonian and Dionysian Ephebi)
1st–2nd century CE

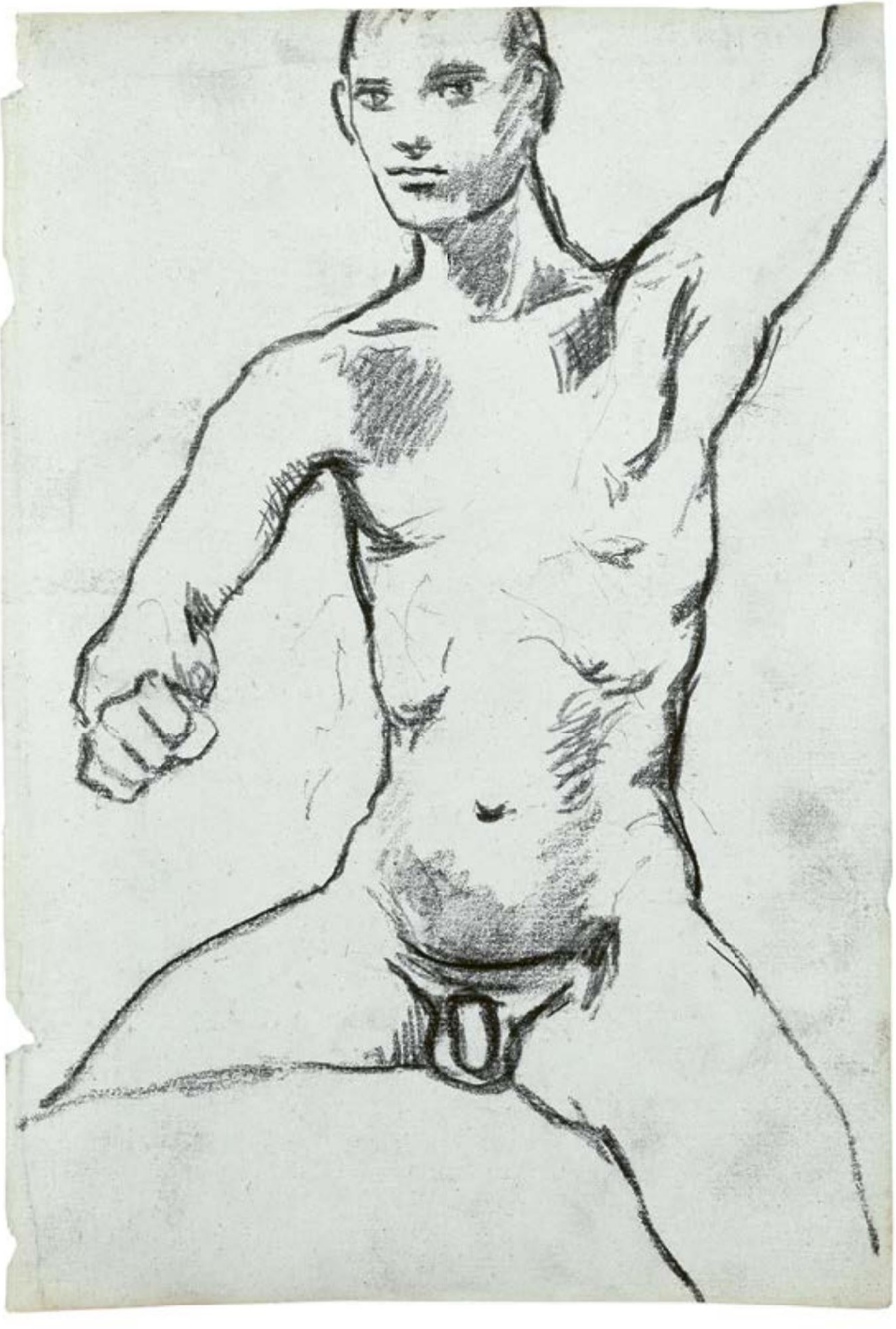




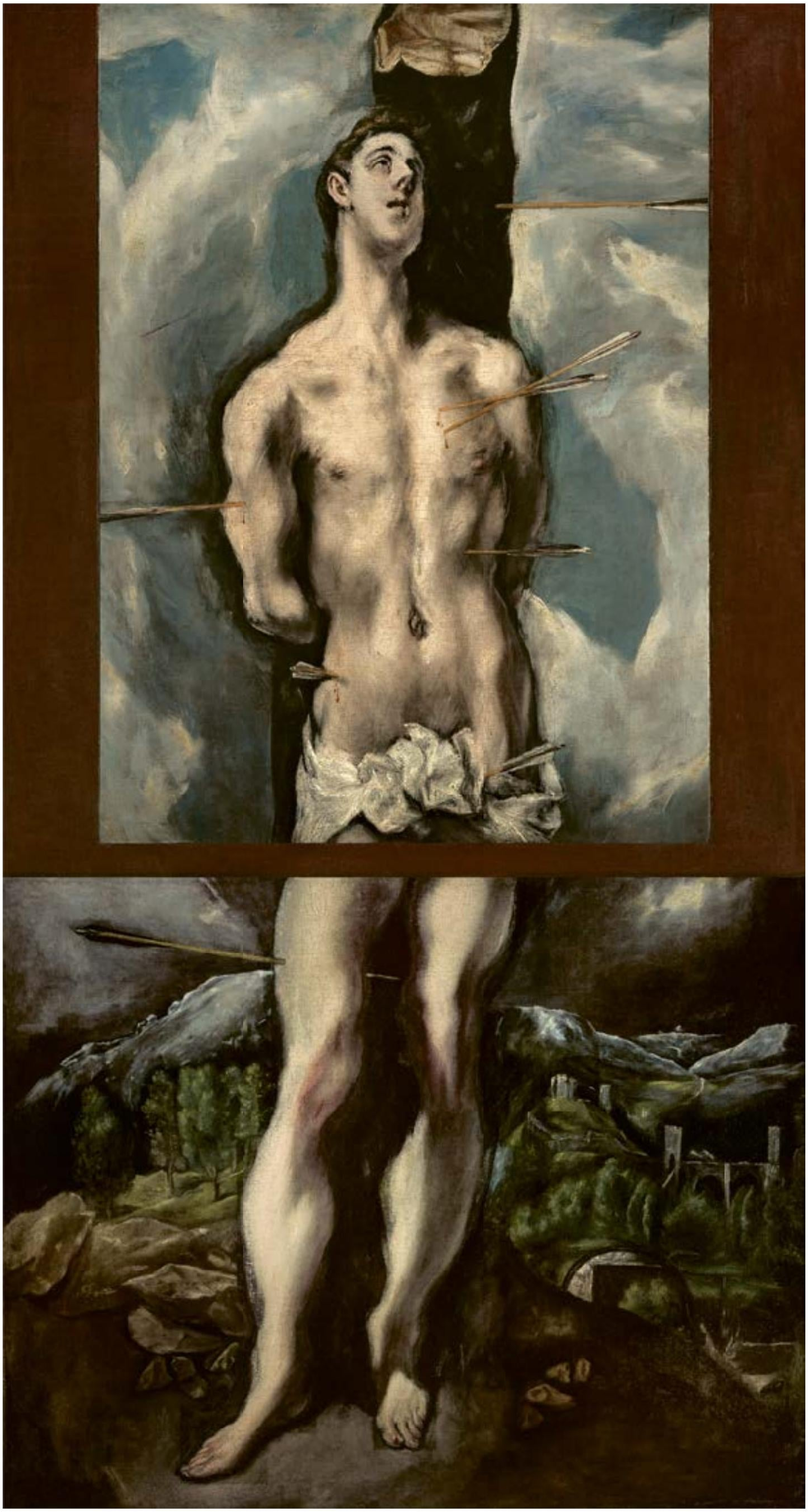
Antiphon Painter
Kylix (drinking cup)
490–480 BCE



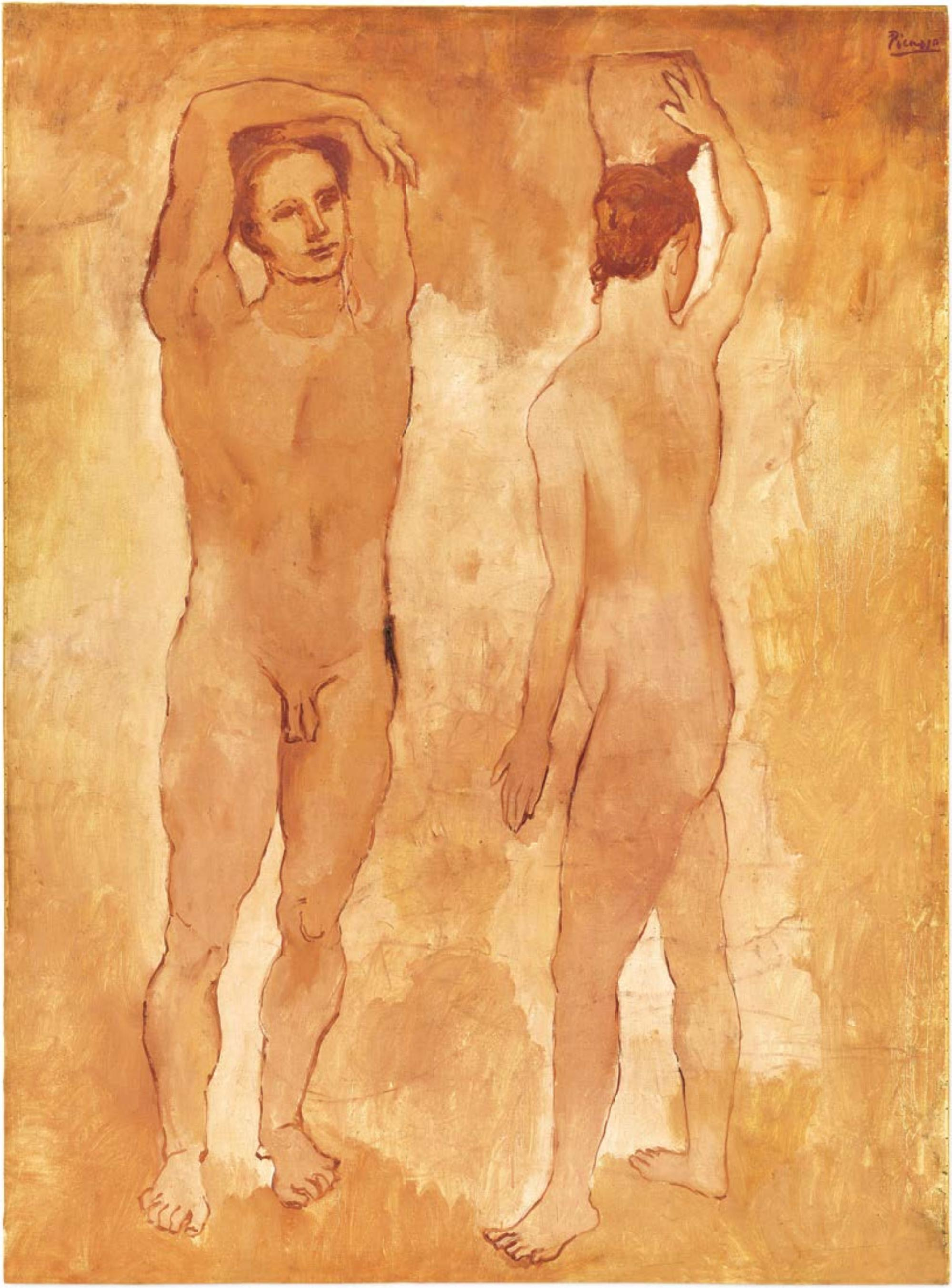
The Young Rider
1905–06



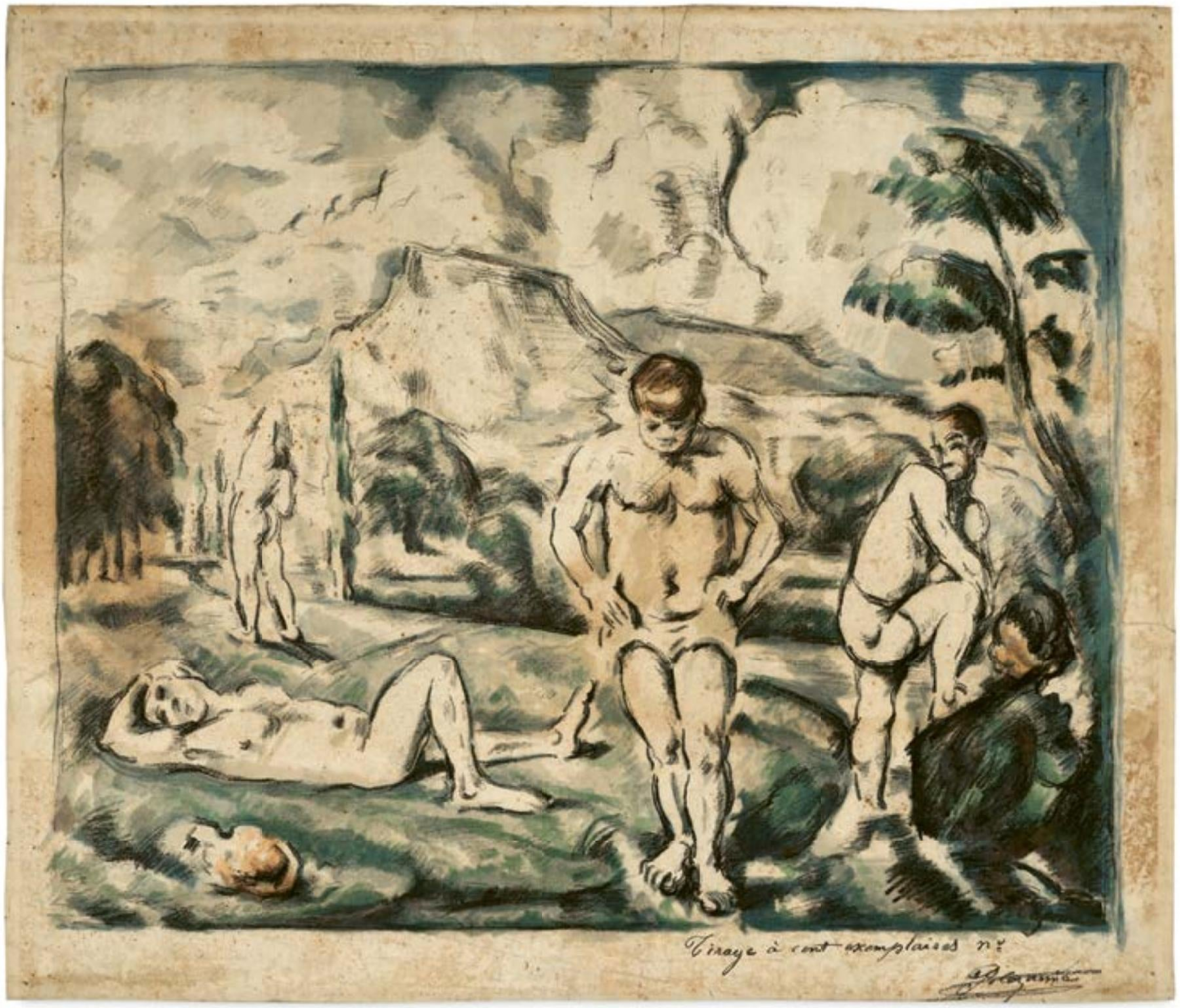
El Greco
San Sebastián
1610–14



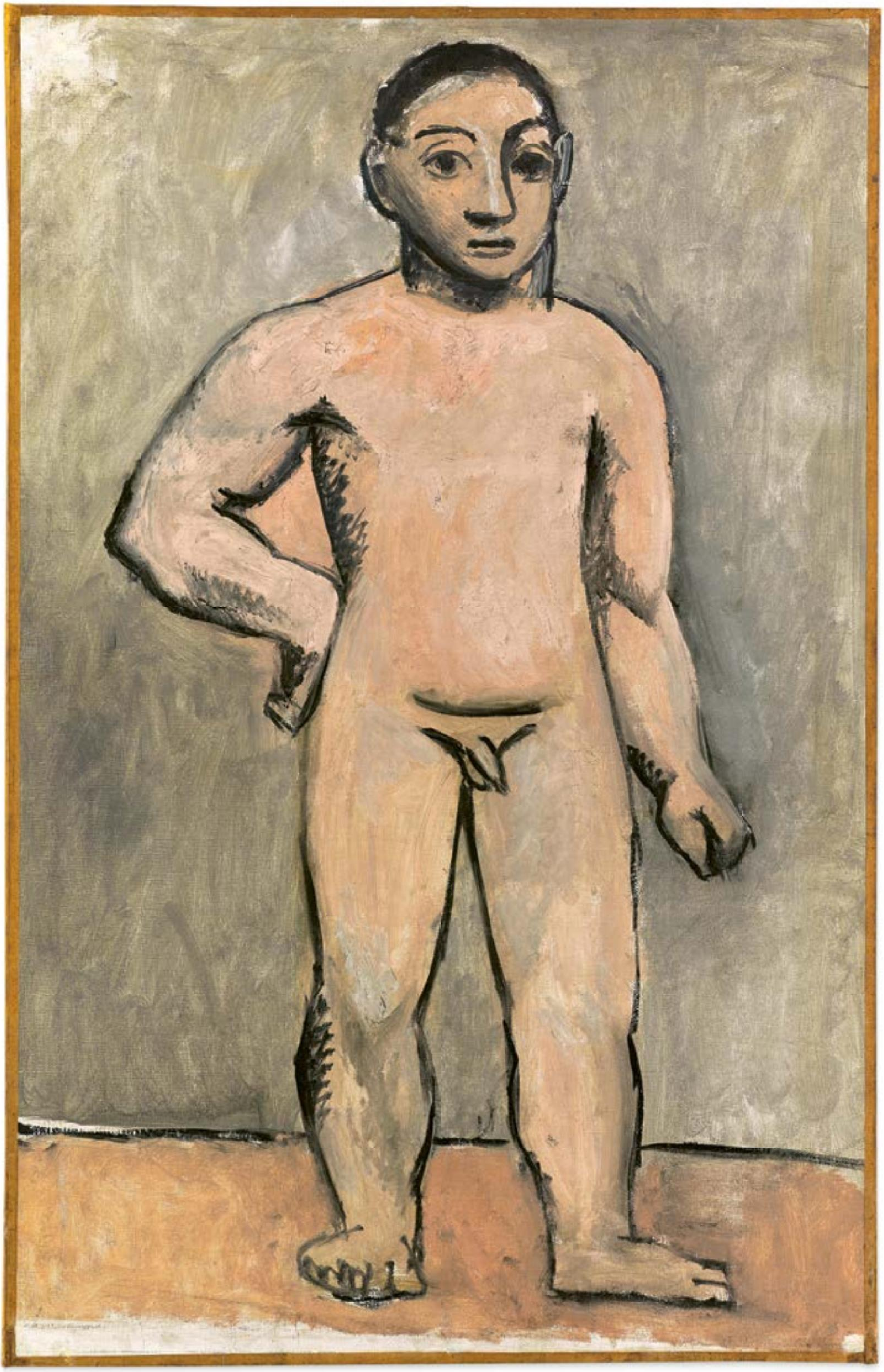
Les Adolescents
(Two Youths)
1906


Picasso

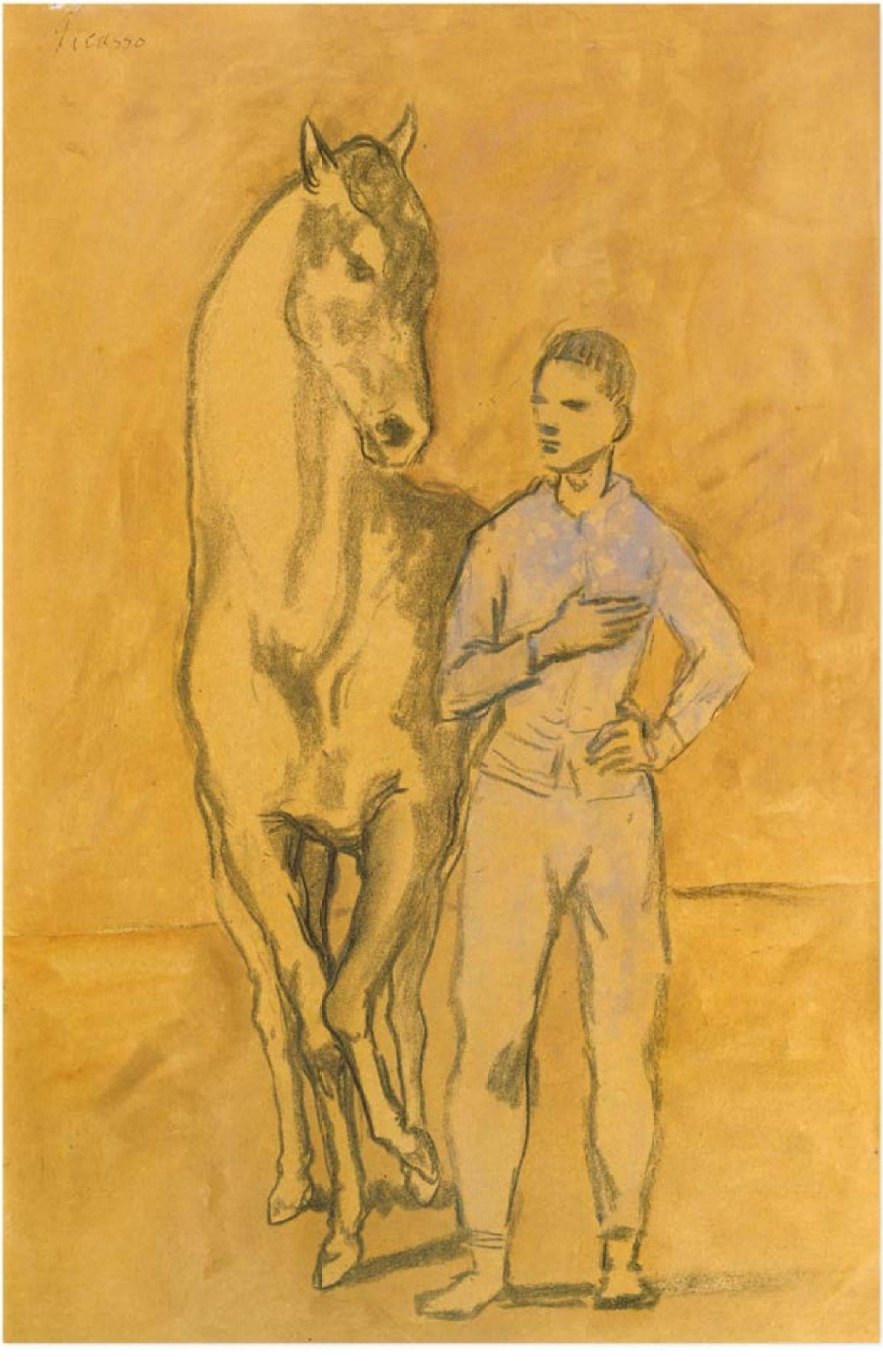
Paul Cézanne
Les Grands Baigneurs
(The Large Bathers)
ca. 1898


Tirage à cent exemplaires n°

Jeune garçon nu
(Nude Young Man)
Fall 1906

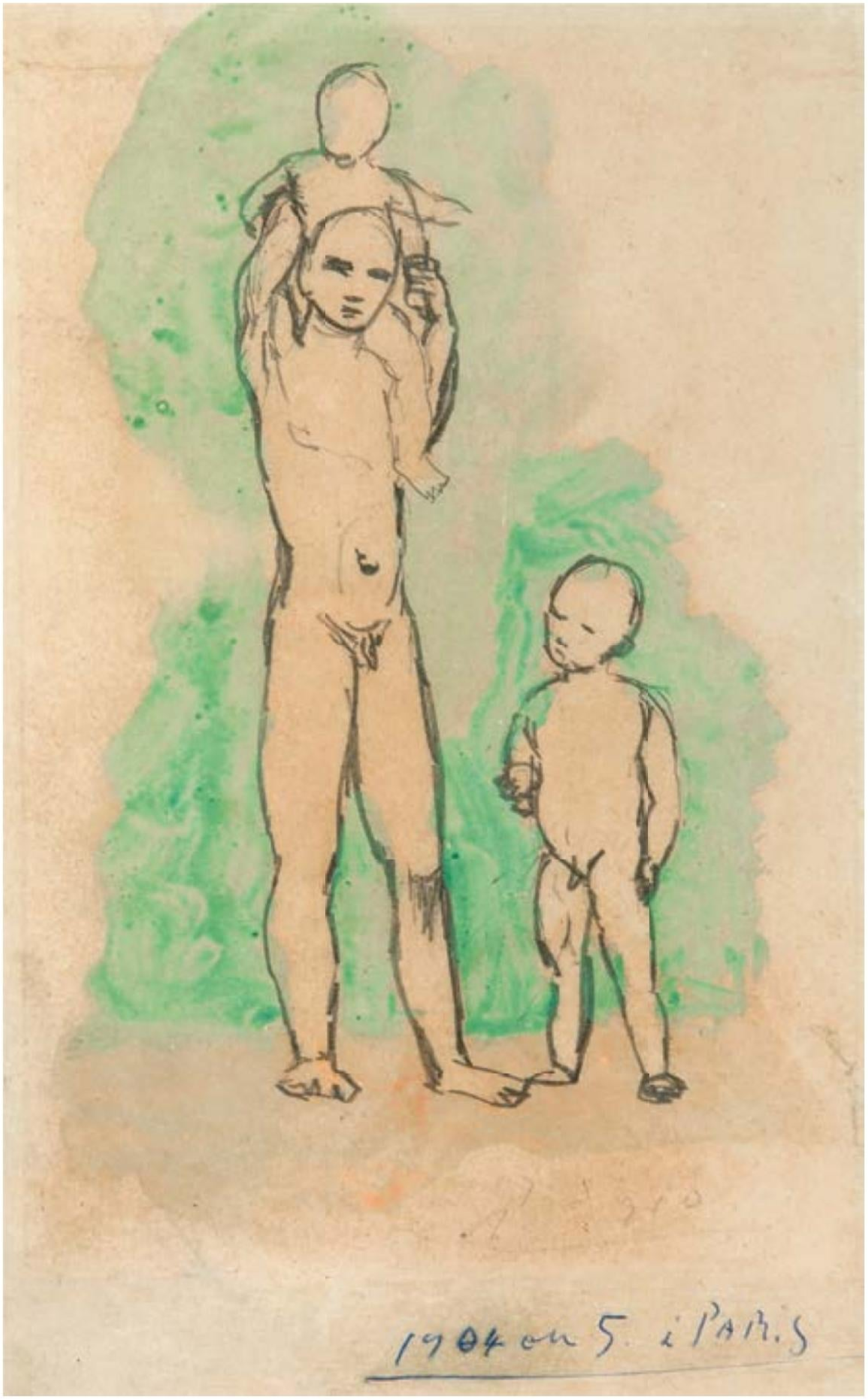


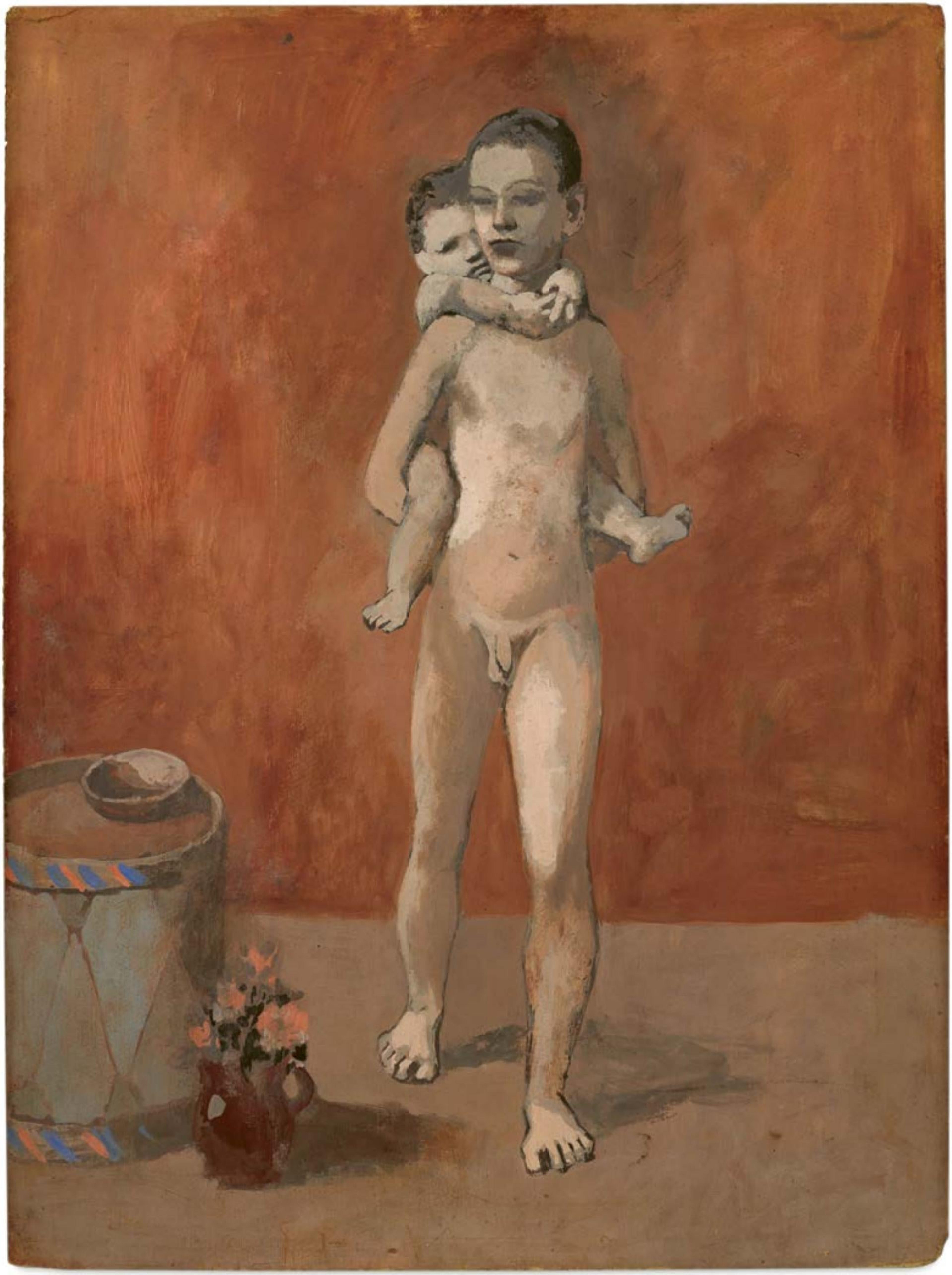
Horse with a Youth in Blue
1905–06


Picasso

Jeune homme et enfants
(Young Man and Children)
1906

Les Deux Frères
(The Two Brothers)
Summer 1906

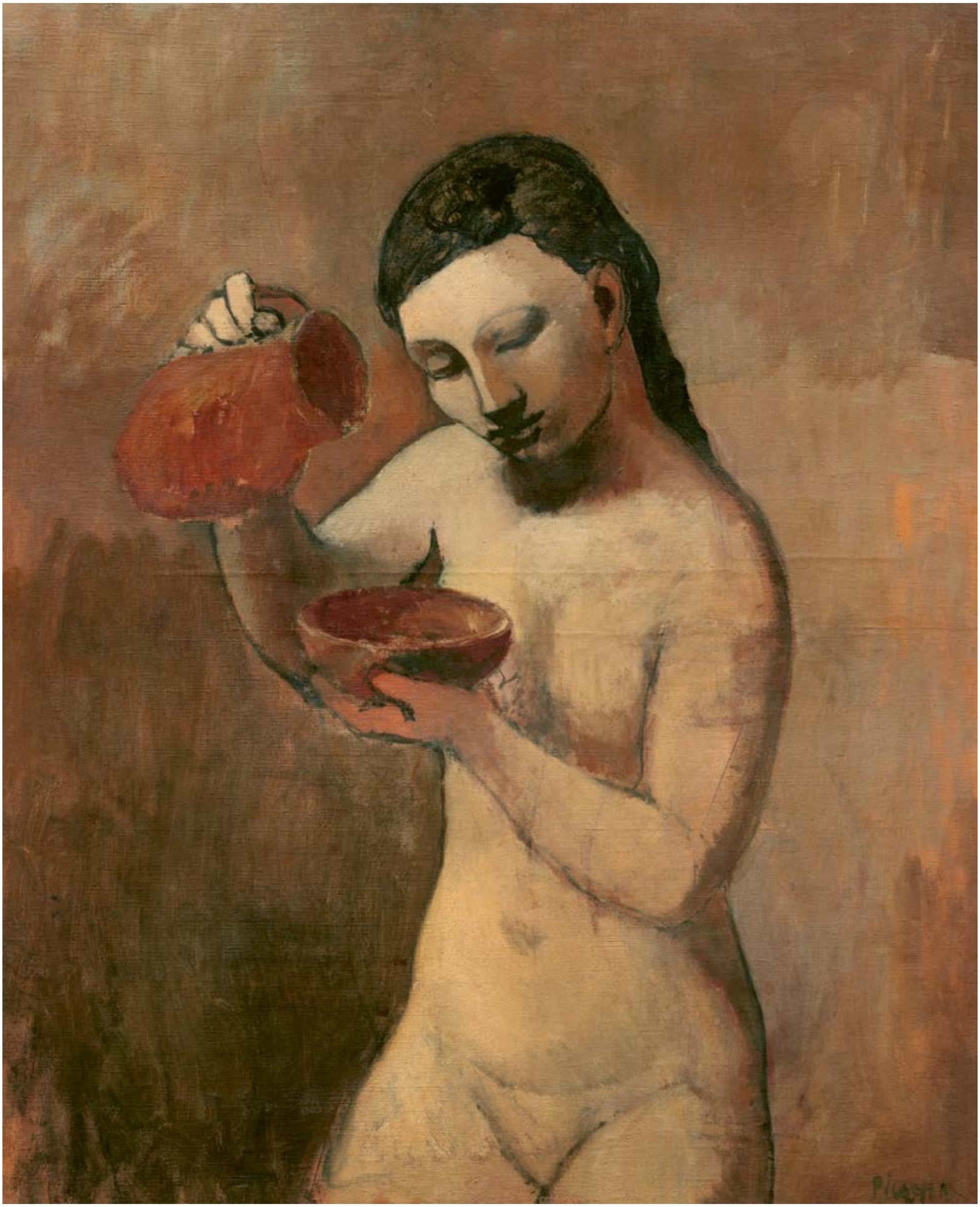

1904 ou 5. à PARIS



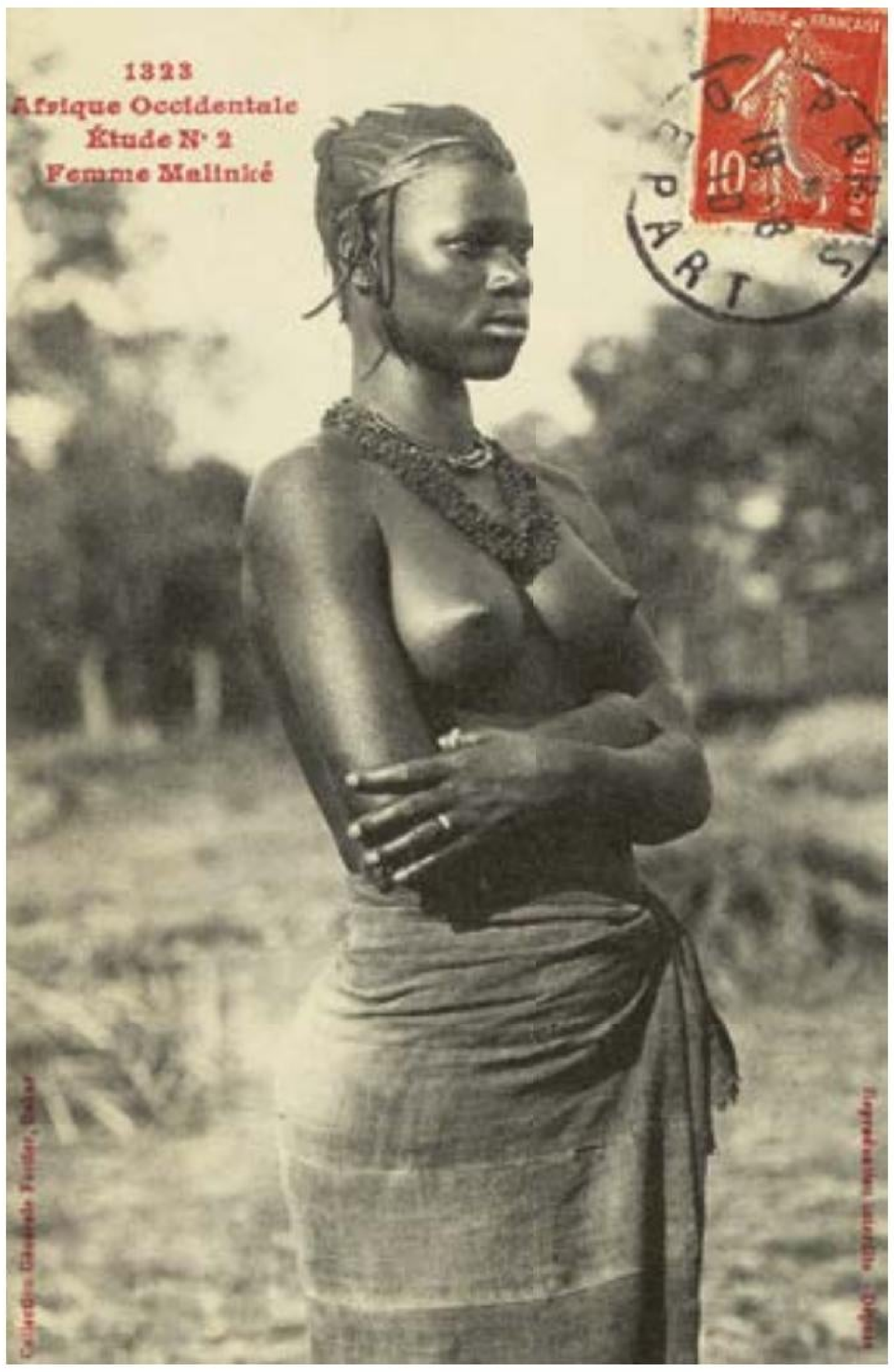
A New Golden Age, New Art

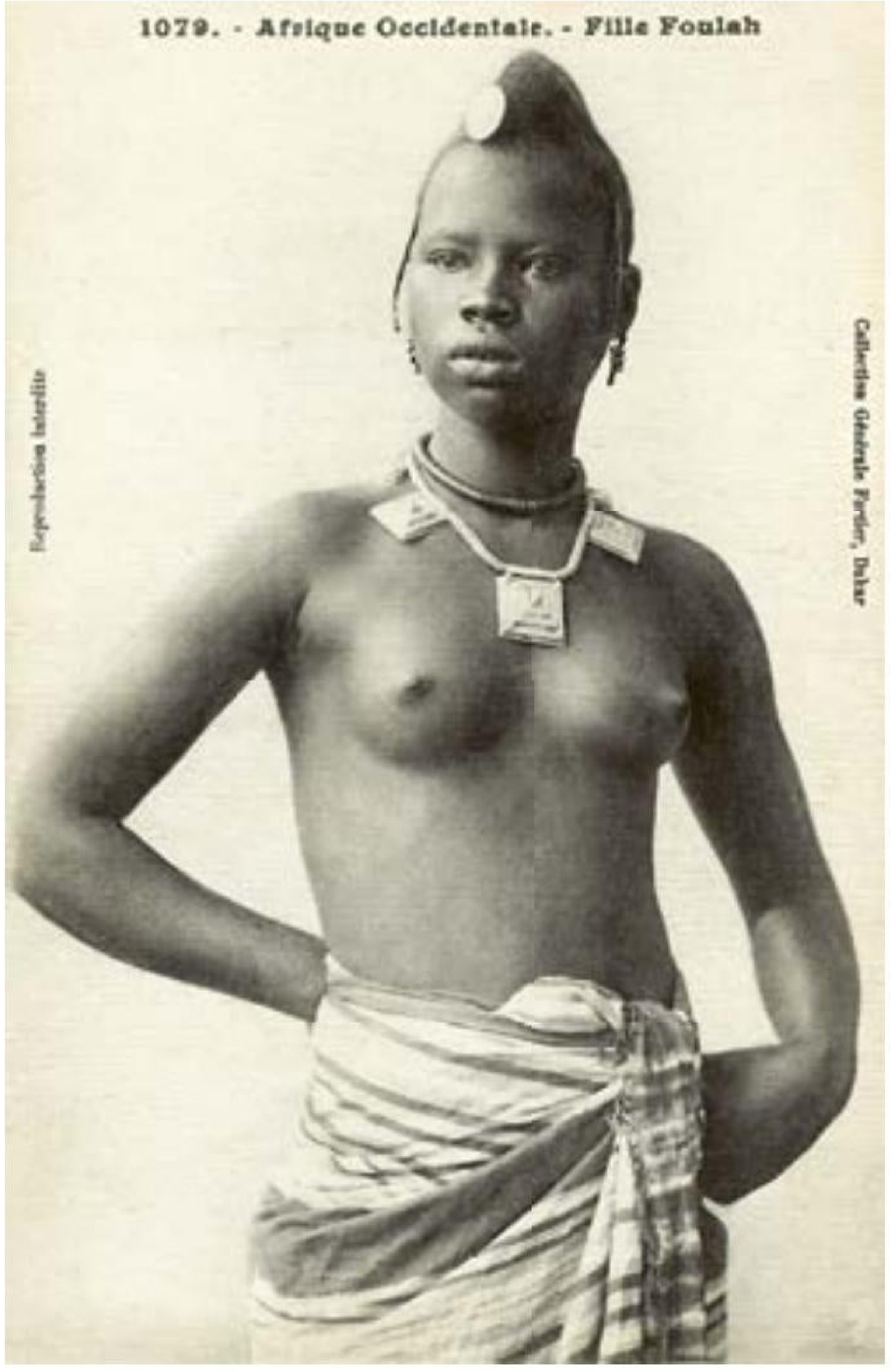
Intimacy and Paraphrasis

Nude with a Pitcher
Summer 1906



François-Edmond Fortier
Postcards from the
Afrique Occidentale series
1st third of the 20th century


1323
Afrique Occidentale
Étude N° 2
Femme Malinké
RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
10
Collection Générale Fortier, Dakar
Reproduction interdite


1079. - Afrique Occidentale. - Fille Foulah
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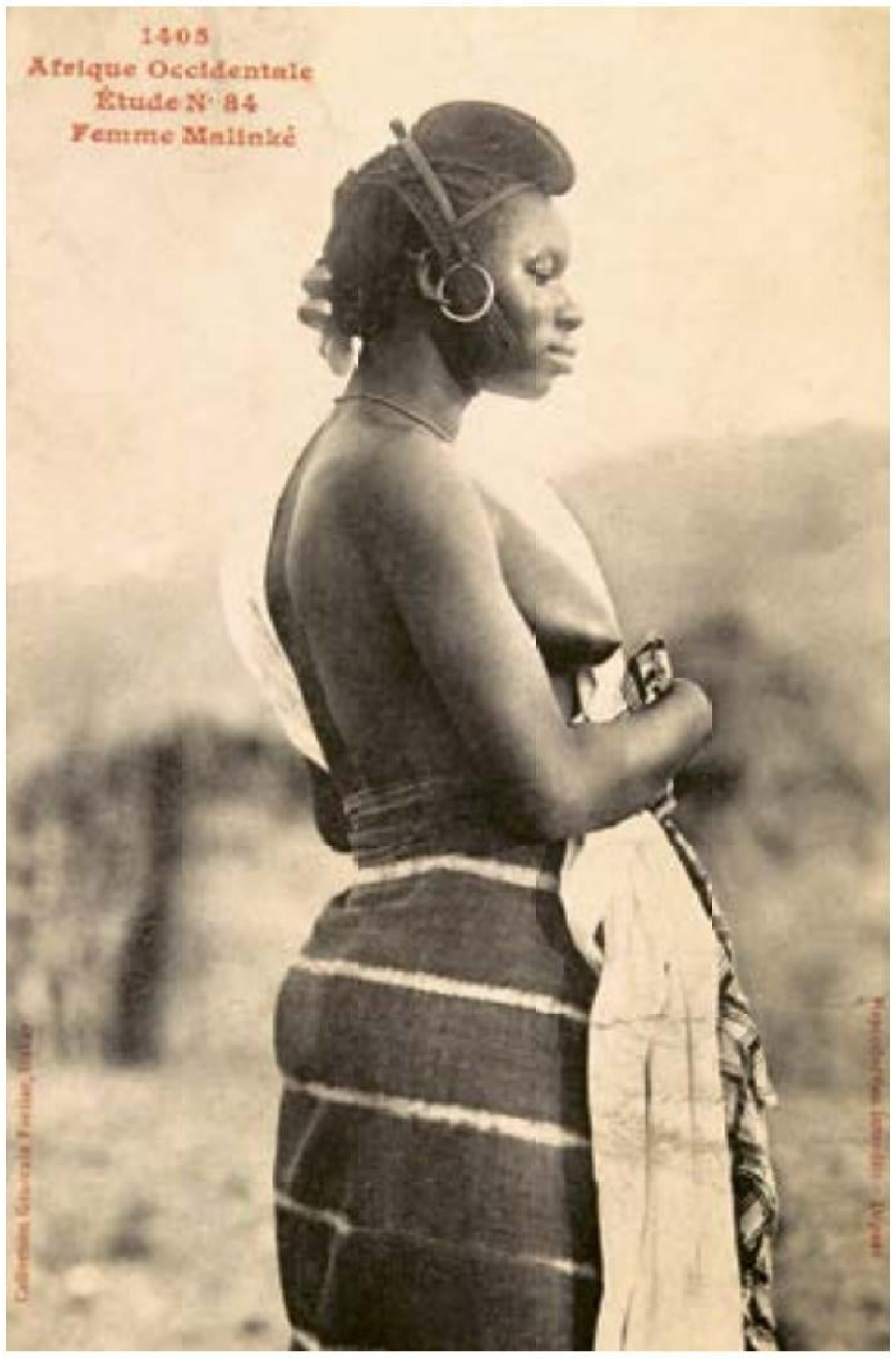
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Étude N° 84
Femme Malinké
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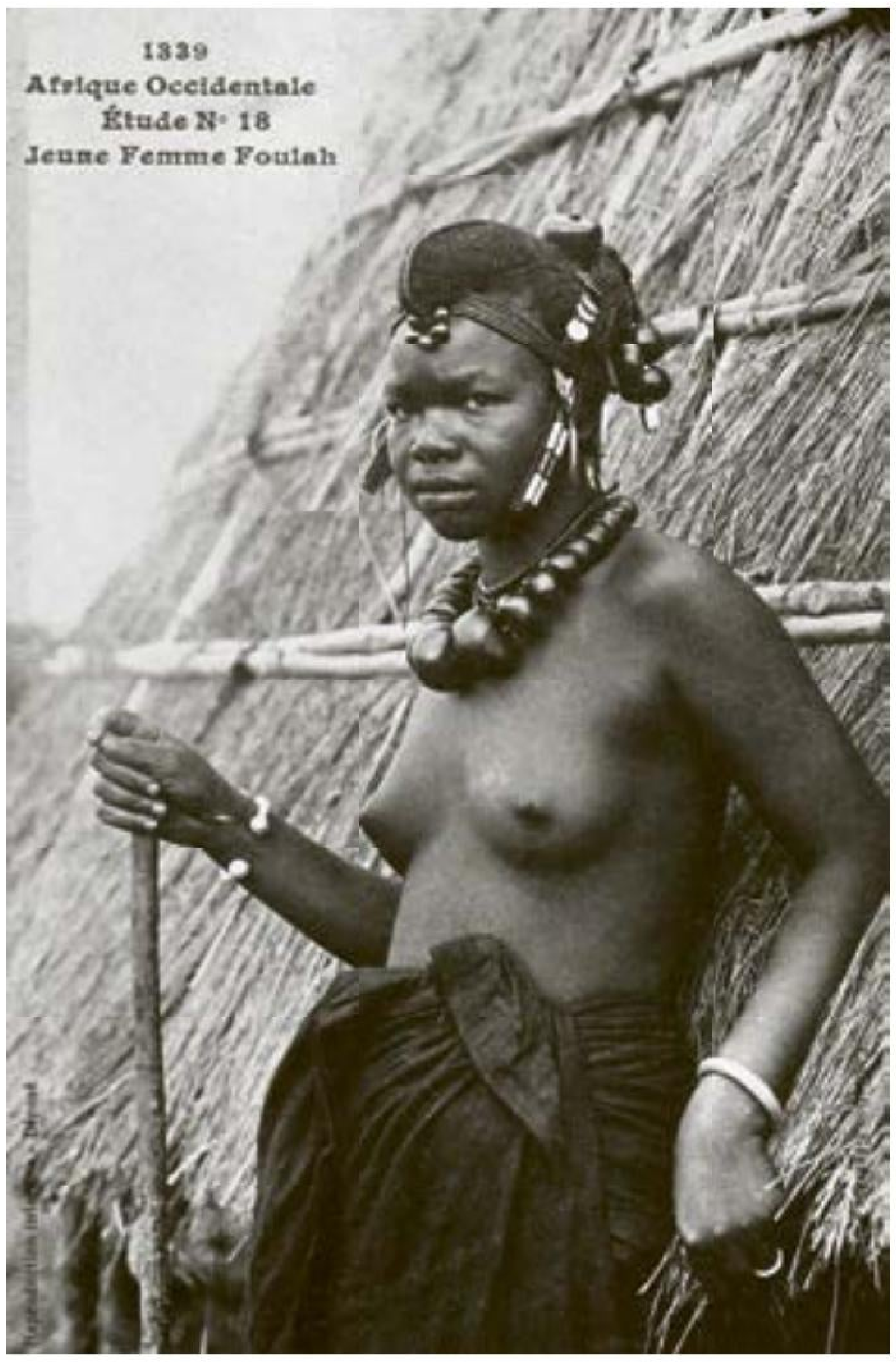
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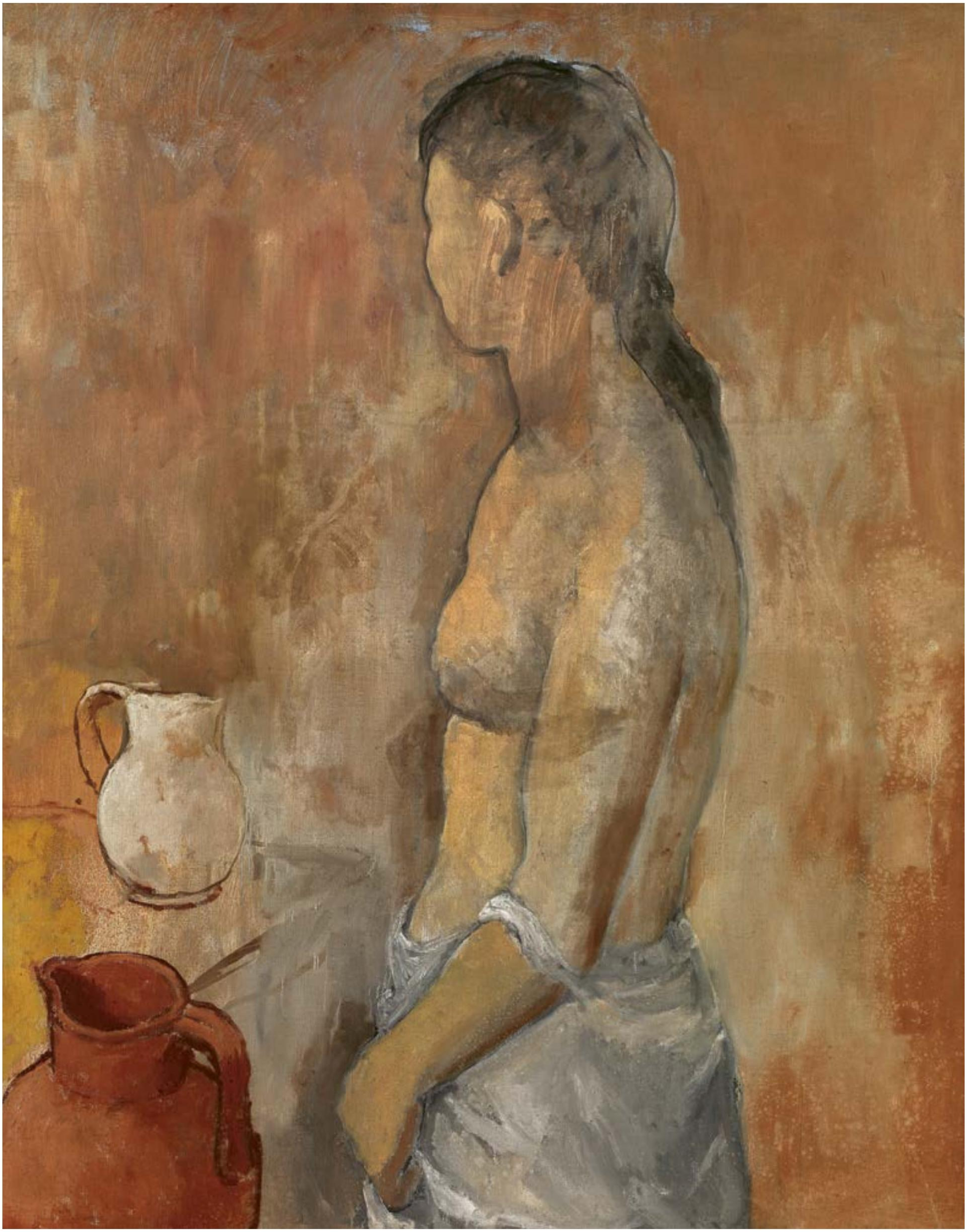
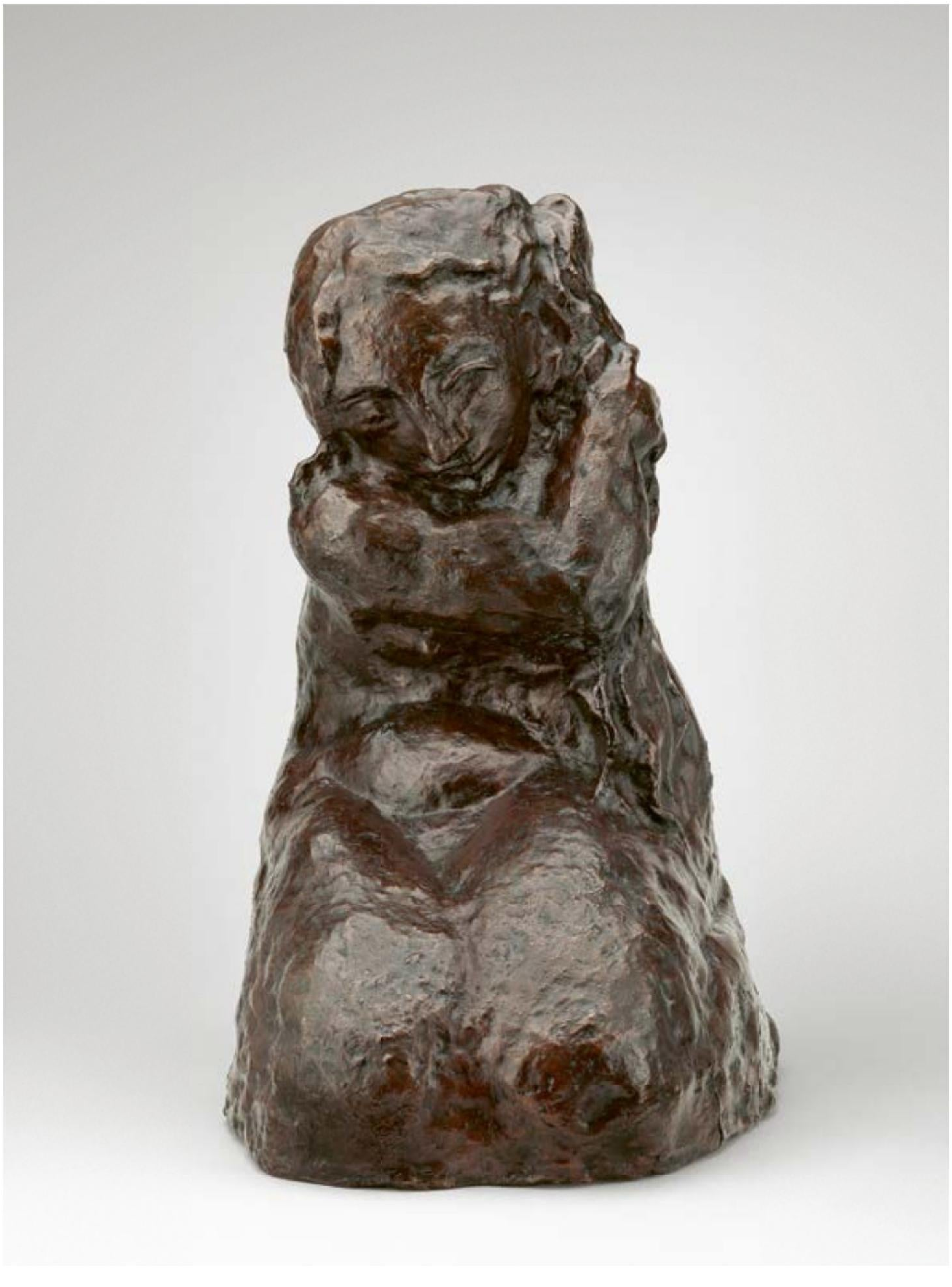
Afrique Occidentale
Étude N° 18
Jeune Femme Foulah
Reproduction interdite

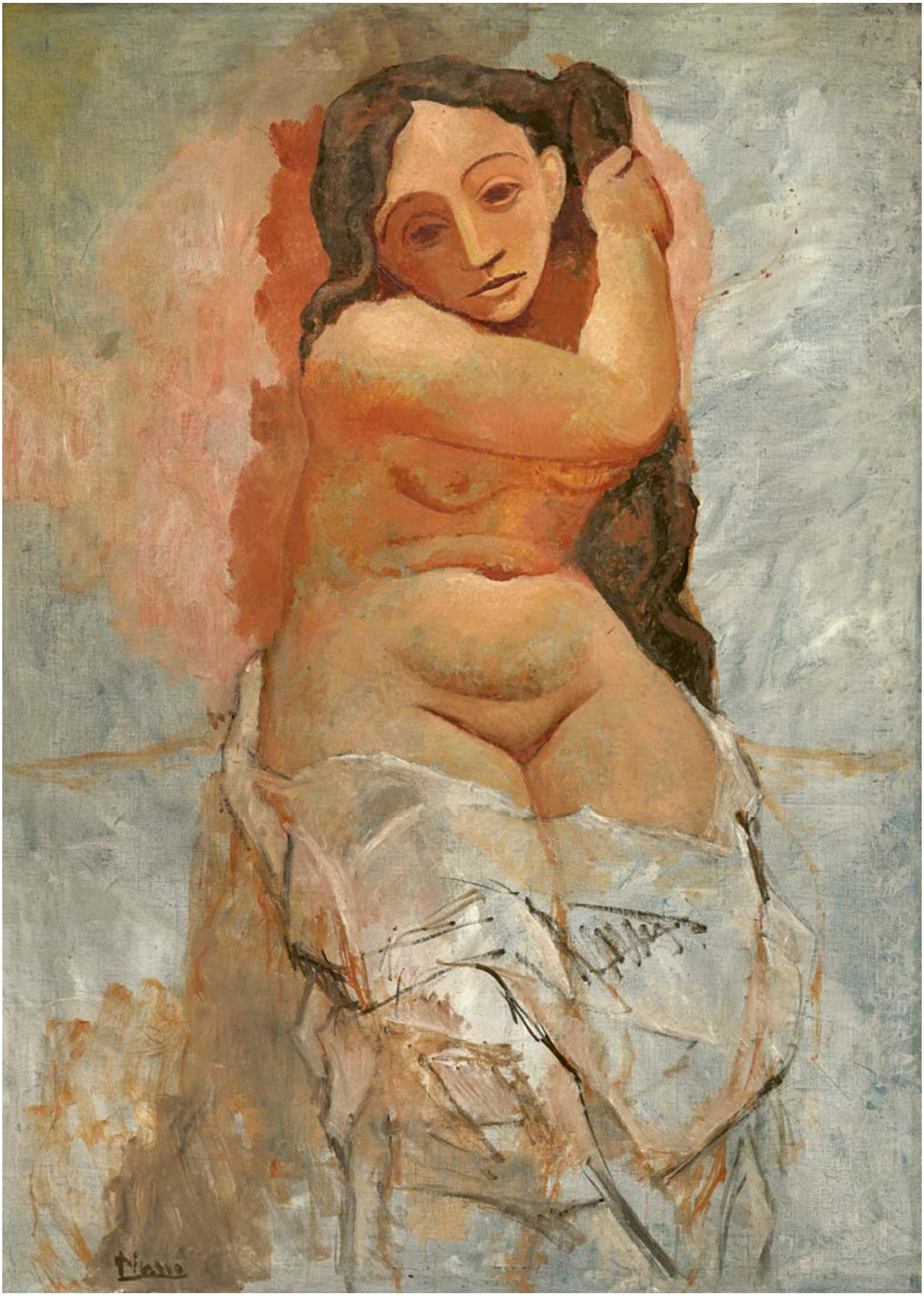


Demi-nu à la cruche
(Half-Nude with a Pitcher)
1906

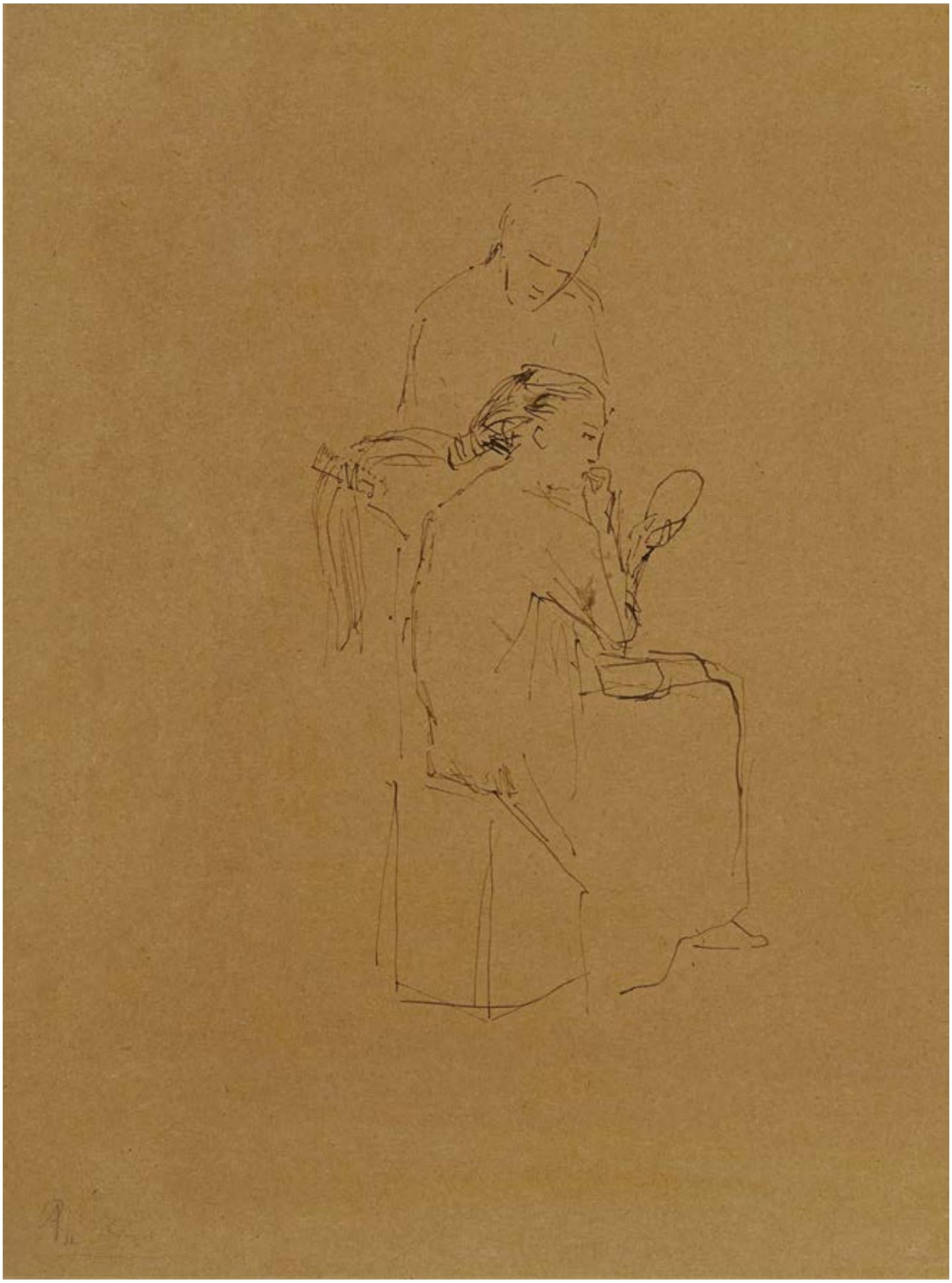
Femme se coiffant
(Woman Combing Her Hair)
1906

Woman Plaiting Her Hair
1906

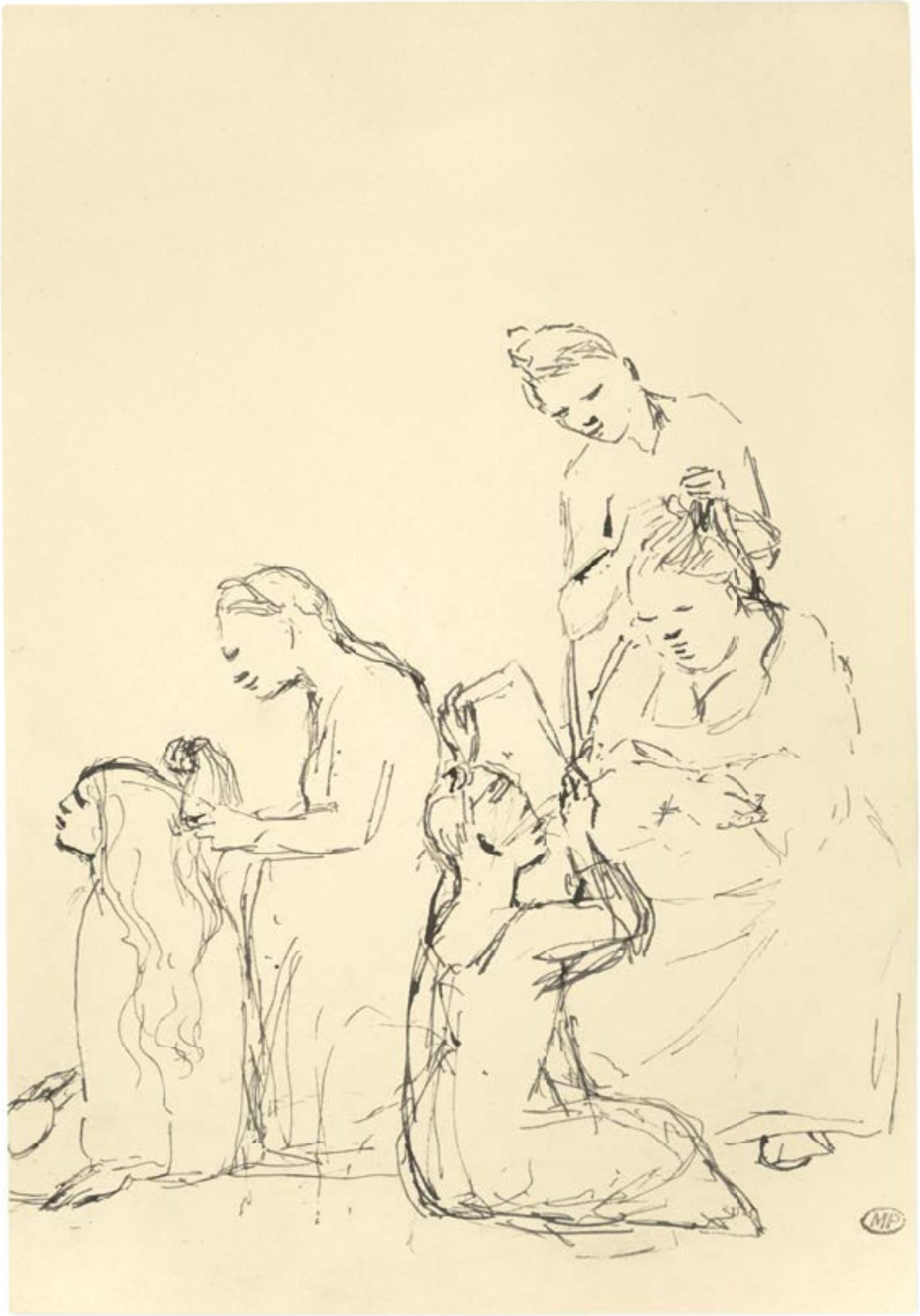



Picasso

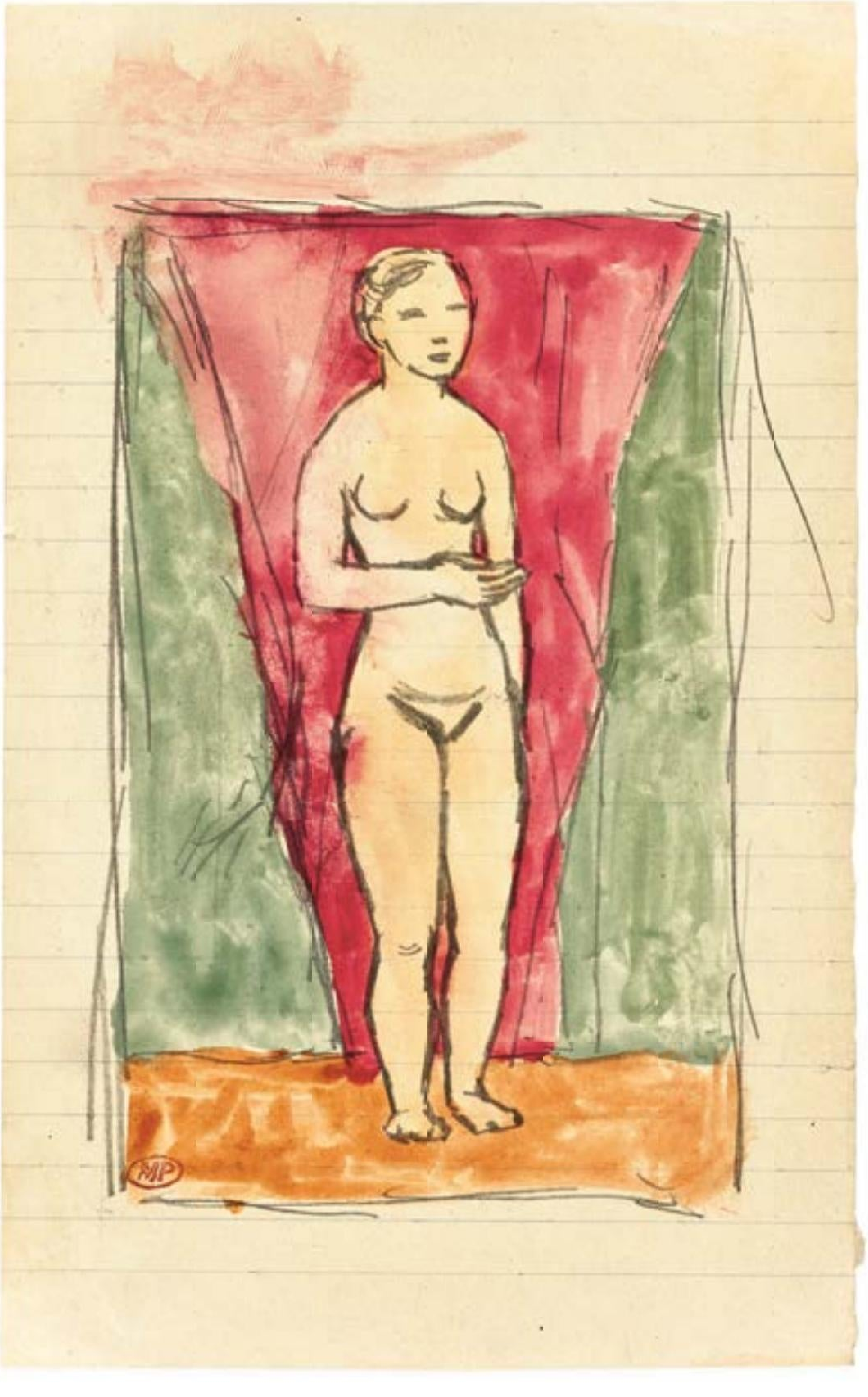
La Coiffure
(The Coiffure)
1906



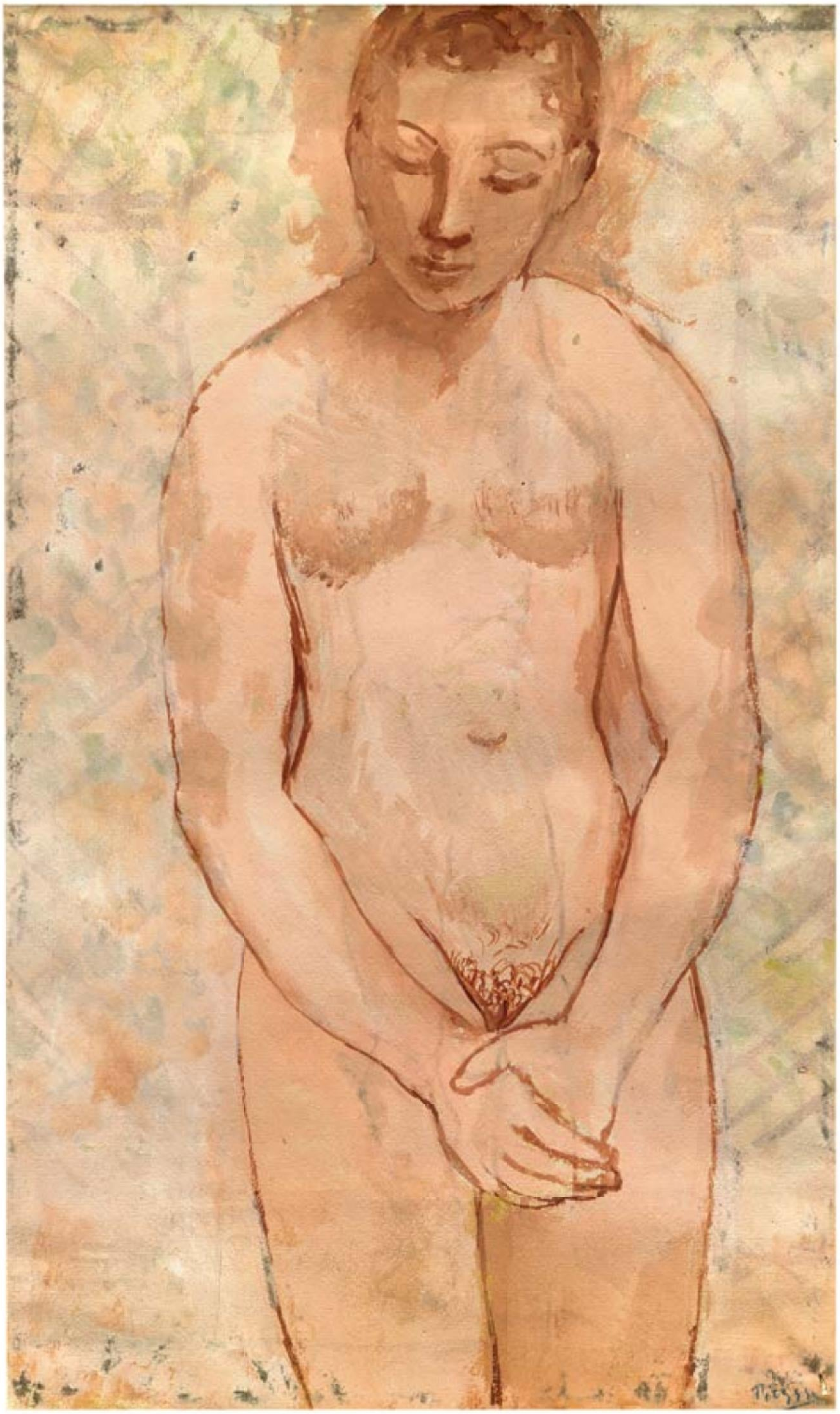
Saltimbanques: femmes se coiffant
(Acrobats: Women Combing Their Hair)
1905



Femme nue devant une tenture
(Nude Woman before a Curtain)
Spring–Summer 1906



Nude with Folded Hands
1906



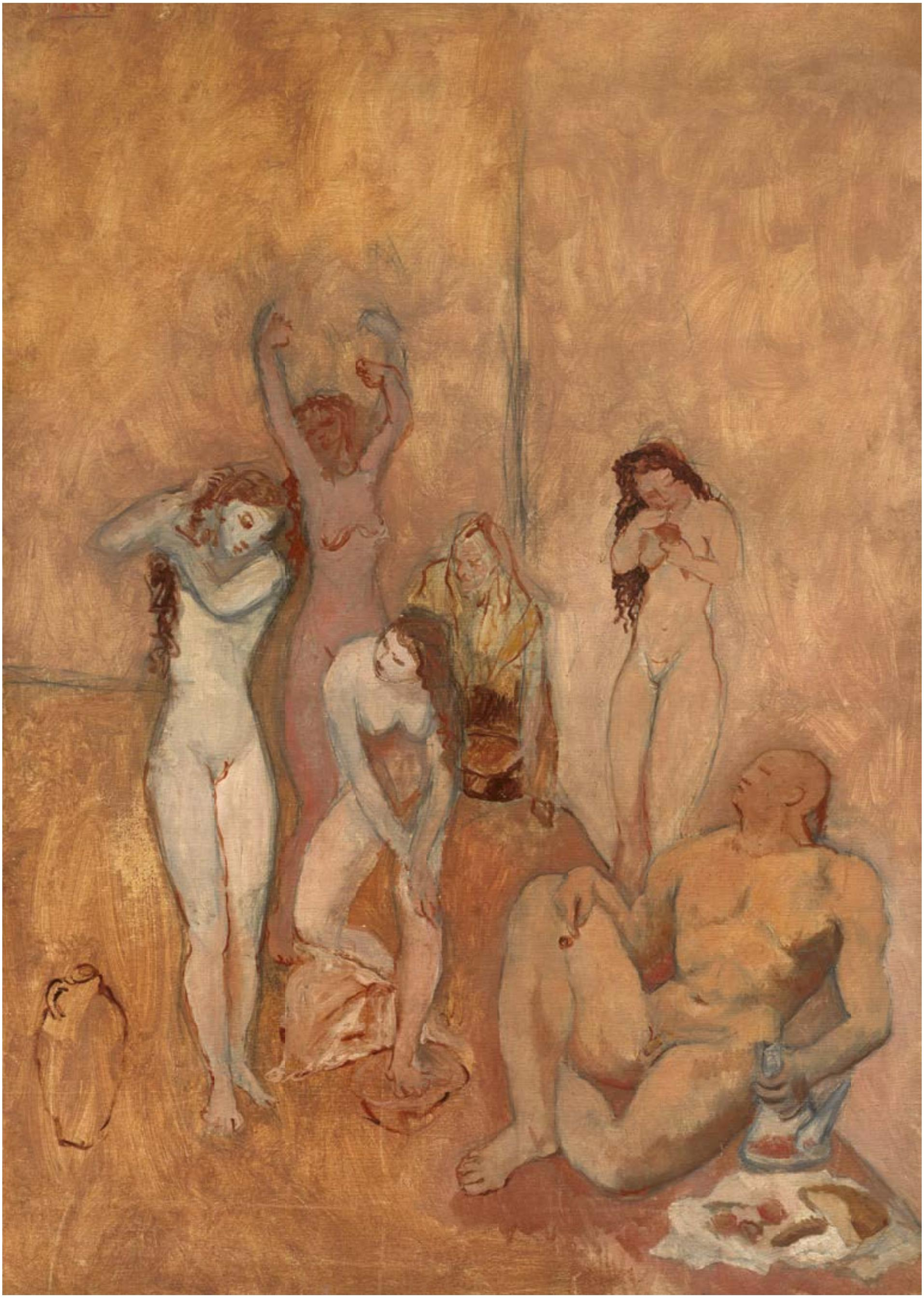
The Scopic Drive

3

The Harem is a work weighed down by critical conjectures that stand in the way of viewing it spontaneously. The first obstacle is its title—attributed to Zervos—that does not clearly line up with what we see on the canvas. The second arises from the idea that *The Harem* is a paraphrase of Ingres's *The Turkish Bath*, that is, an Oriental fantasia that gives free rein to the heteronormative scopic drive of nineteenth-century art. We do not, in fact, have a very clear idea of what *The Harem* is about. It could hardly be said to be a miserable brothel. Ingres is present in *The Harem* through Picasso's incorporation of his sensual arabesque drawing: the outline emphasizes the body's eroticism and gives the voyeurism a haptic sensation—in other words, sight awakens the sense of touch. However, in *The Harem* Picasso also offers a linear, concise, agile synthesis infused with color, which was his way of competing with the Fauves, defending his own sense of mimesis.

The third obstacle arises in considering *The Harem* as an antecedent to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. The visual language and iconography in the two works are starkly different. And they have opposing visual concepts. *Les Demoiselles* look at us with their defiant eyes of the Medusa. In *The Harem* viewers are invited to direct their scopic drive toward the unveiling of female intimacy. But several iconographic elements interfere in this process. One is the reiteration of a single figure, a woman that critics identify with Fernande. A "Fernande" iconotype, which, again and again, evokes Titian's *Venus Anadyomene*, but whose reiteration tells us that the work is a game. A game *à bruit secret*, with something hidden. Fernande recalled in *Picasso et ses amis* one of Apollinaire's hallucinations while under the effects of hashish. He dreamed of a harem because he was in love and that love was unrequited. This brings us to the presence in the painting of La Celestina, the protagonist of a tragicomedy about the fatal end met by impossible loves. Another obstacle in the voyeuristic approach to the painting is the male figure. This muscular figure seems to be daydreaming about something, and he displaces his phallic energy from his own body to the *porrón*, or pitcher, he holds in his hand. This displacement is unique in the history of European panting. He also is holding a flower in his hand, like one of the characters in the sexually complex—and, to some, homoerotic—engraving by Dürer, *Männerbad* (The Men's Bathhouse). This suggests that Picasso's main source for *The Harem* was Dürer's drawing *Frauenbad* (The Women's Bathhouse).

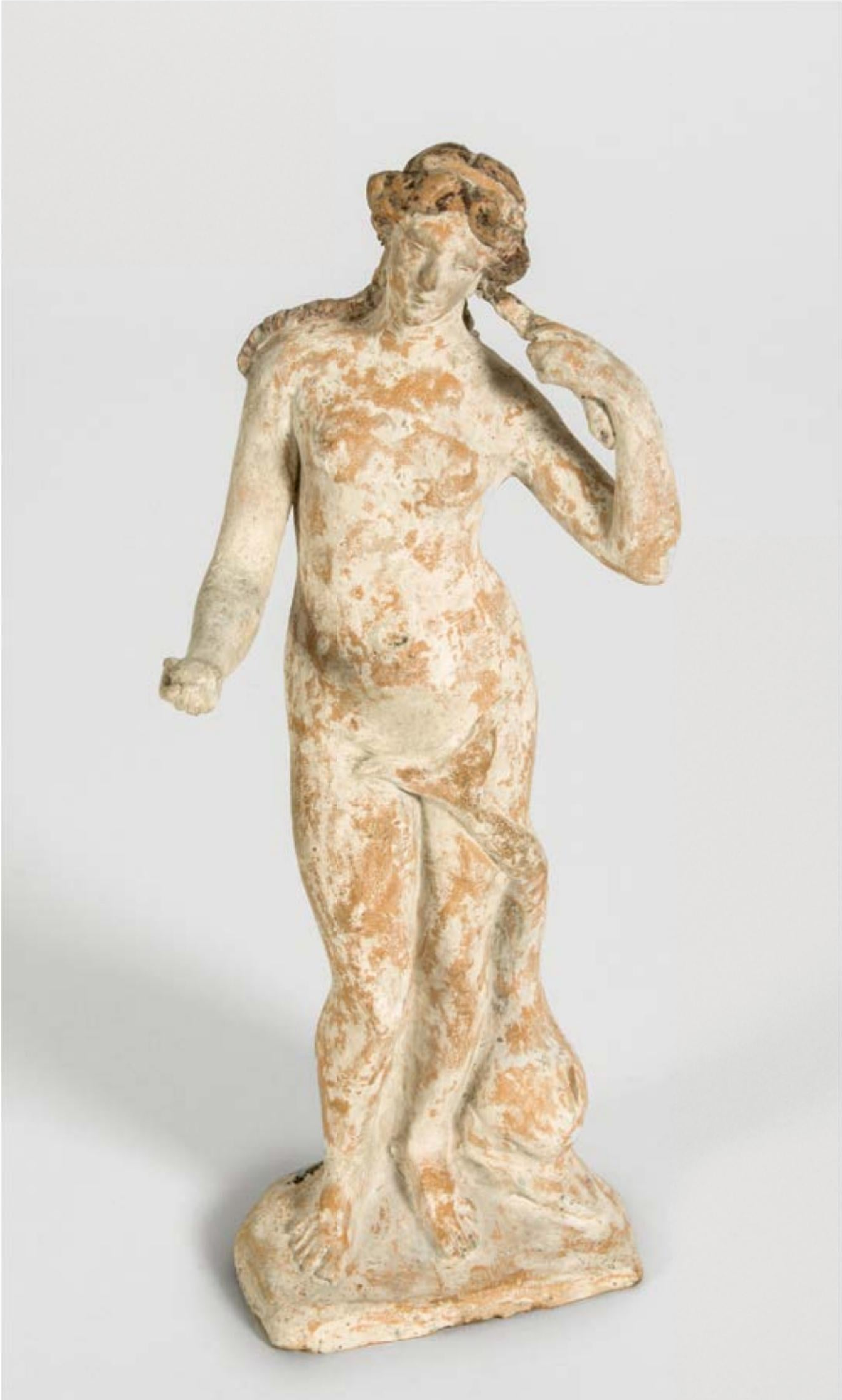
There are other references present in *The Harem* that have scarcely been taken into consideration, such as the Roman Aphrodite figures—domestic clay figures—and, above all, the reference to Camille Corot, whom Picasso collected. The way in which Corot ties Venus to the image of a contemporary woman must have interested Picasso, as he did the same. Another game. The game of dissolving high culture in daily life. In other words, modern art.



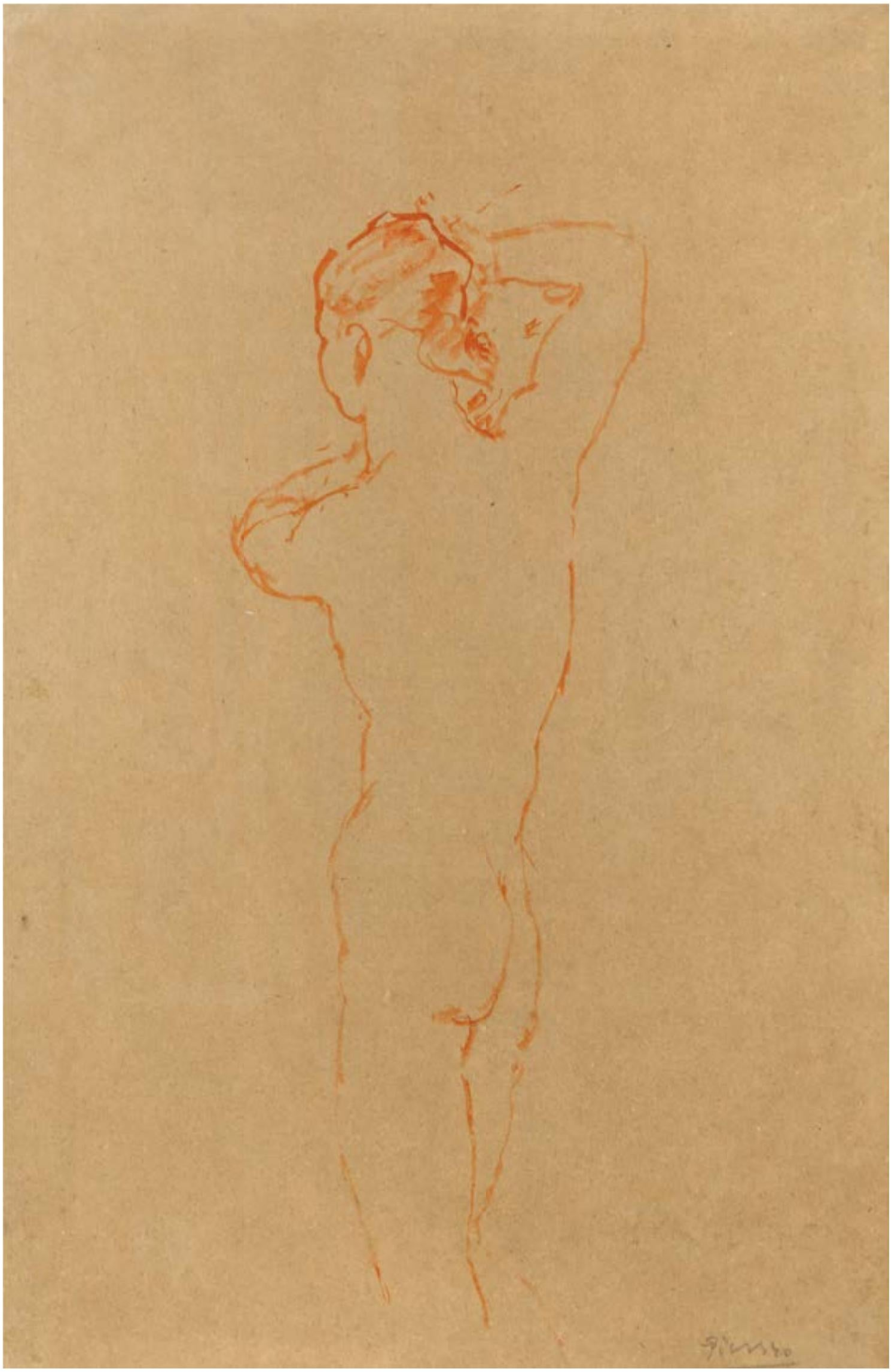
Unknown Author

Figure

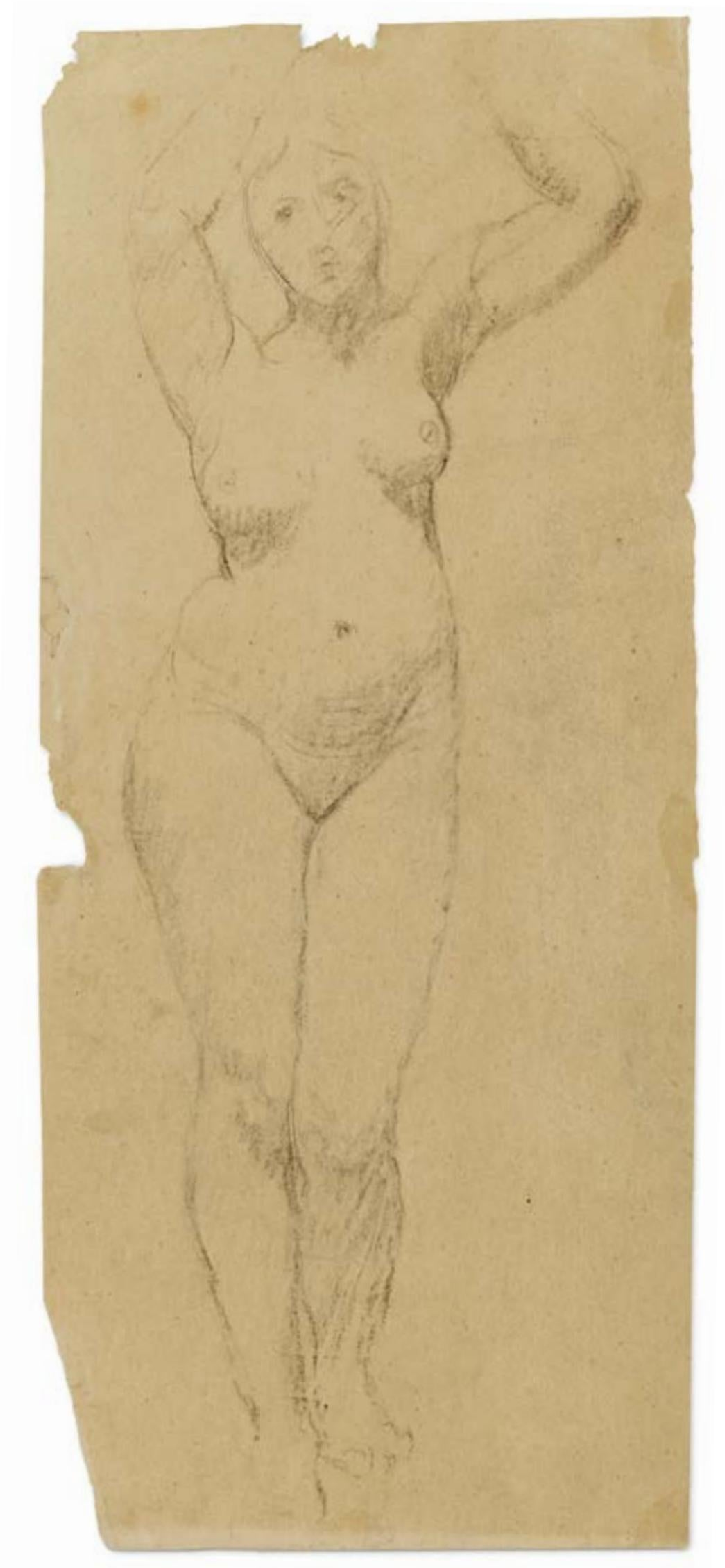
200–150 BCE



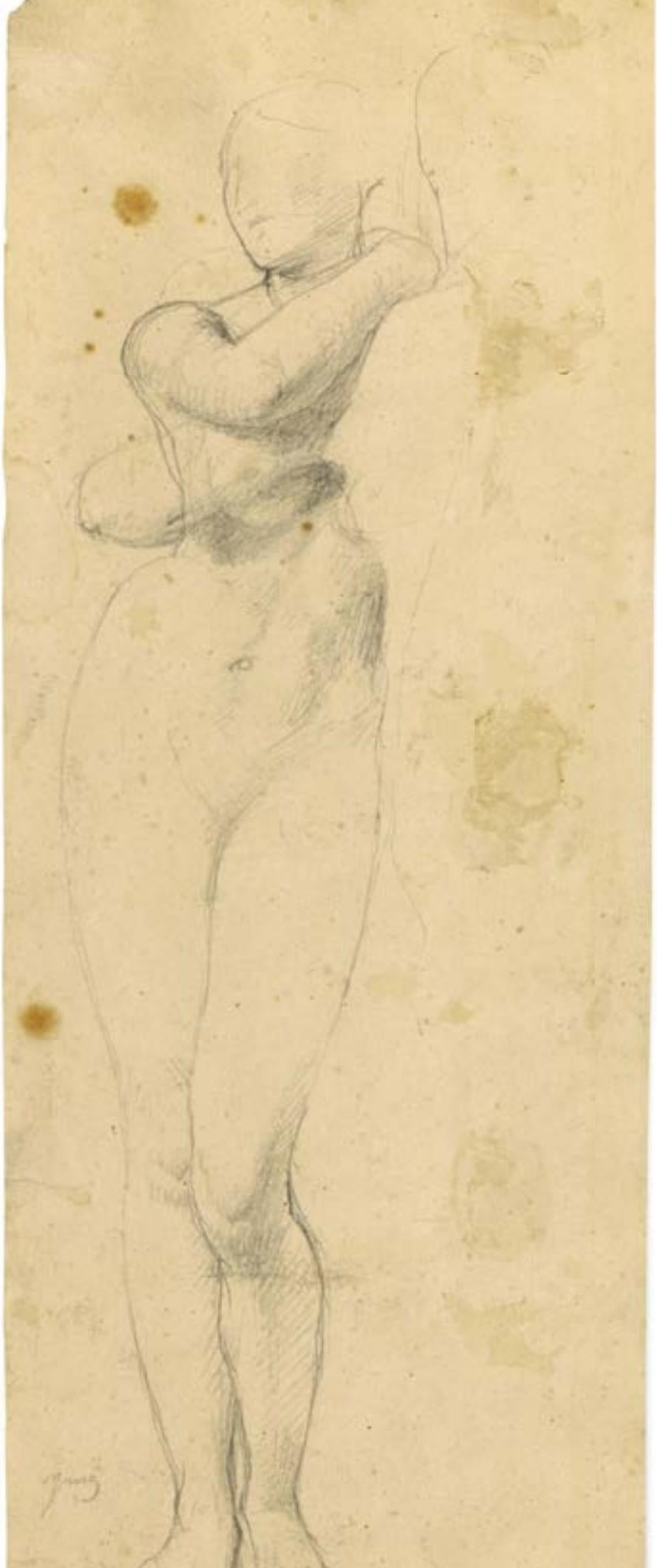
Femme nue se coiffant, vue de dos
(Nude Woman Combing Her Hair, Back View)
1906



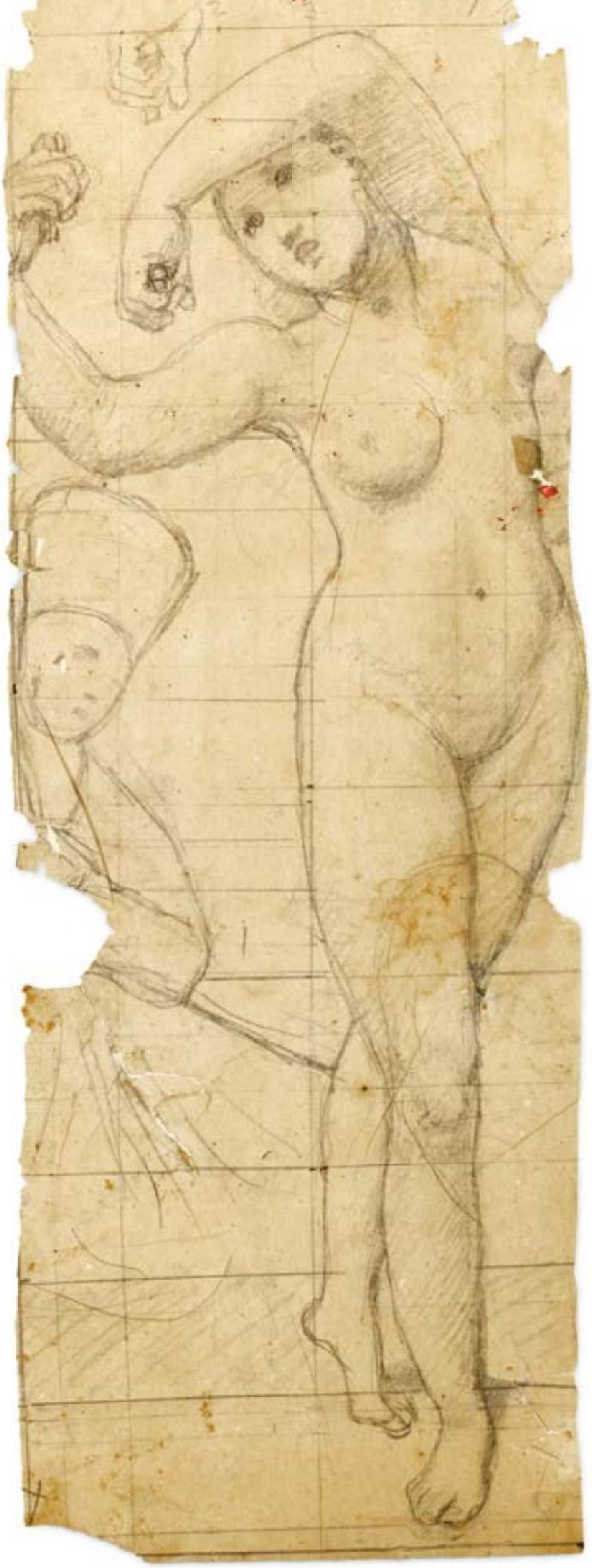
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Femme nue
(Nude Woman)
1826



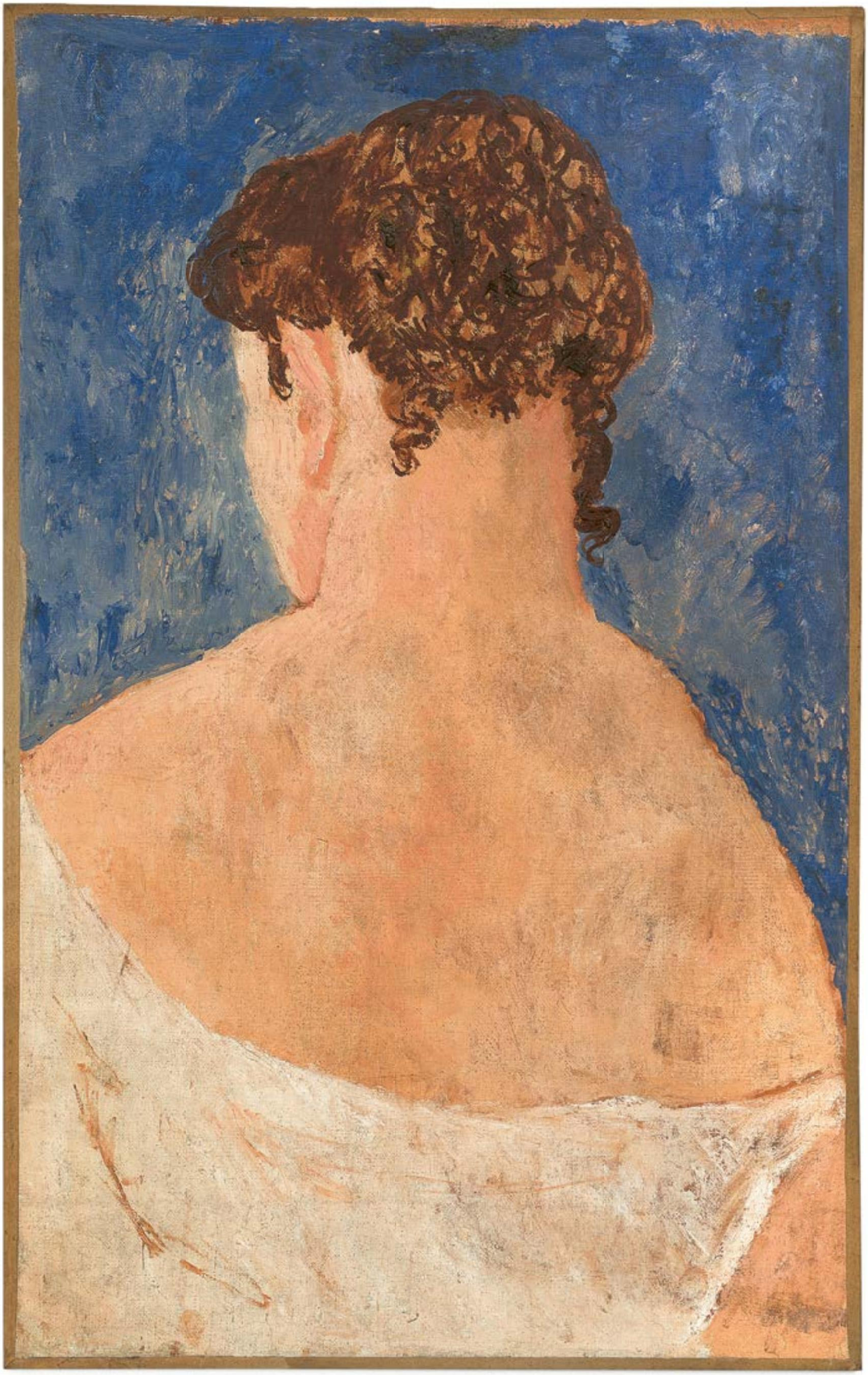
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Famille à l'agneau
(The Family of the Lamb)
1843–47



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Danseuse
(Female Dancer)
1851

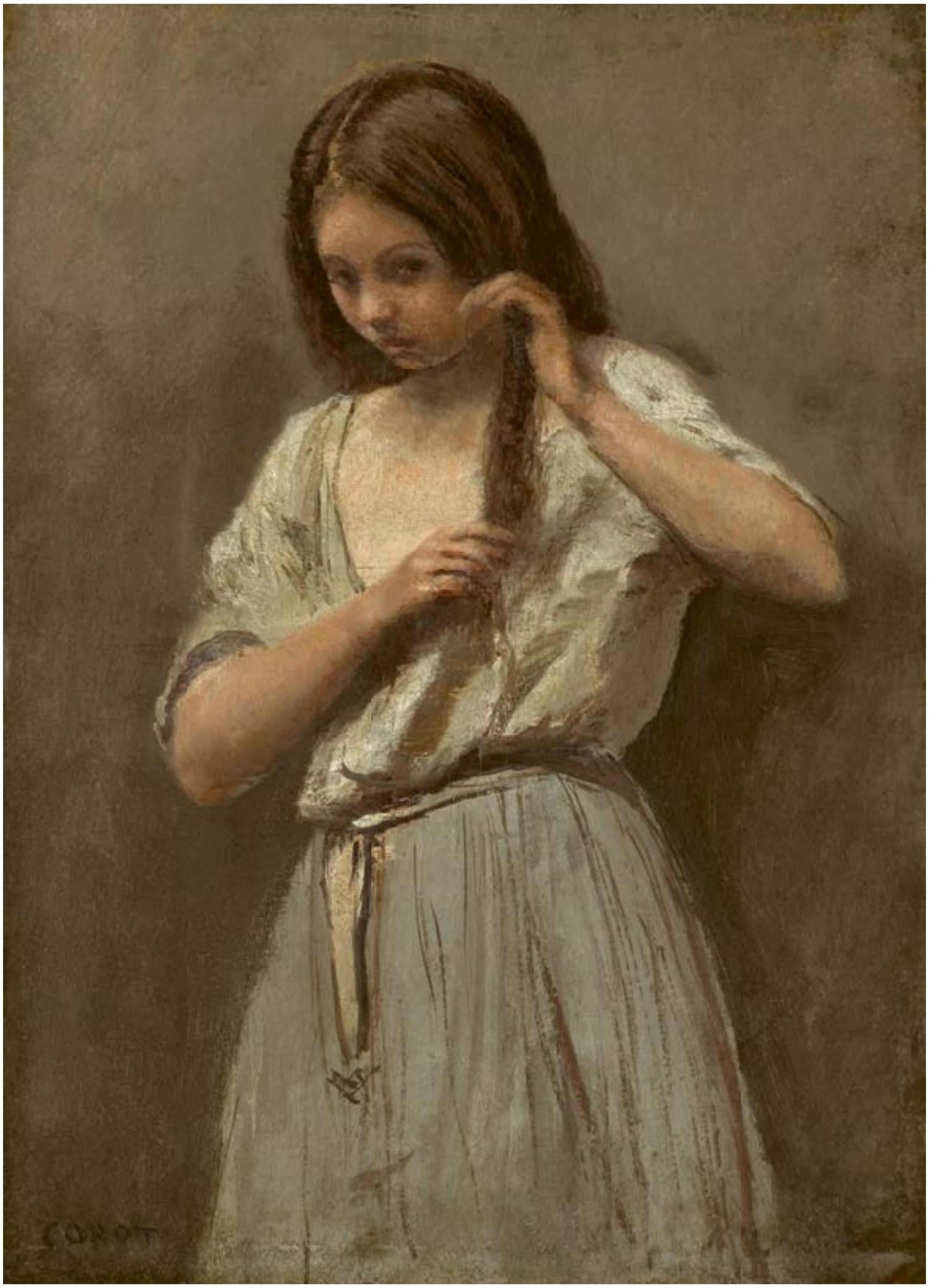


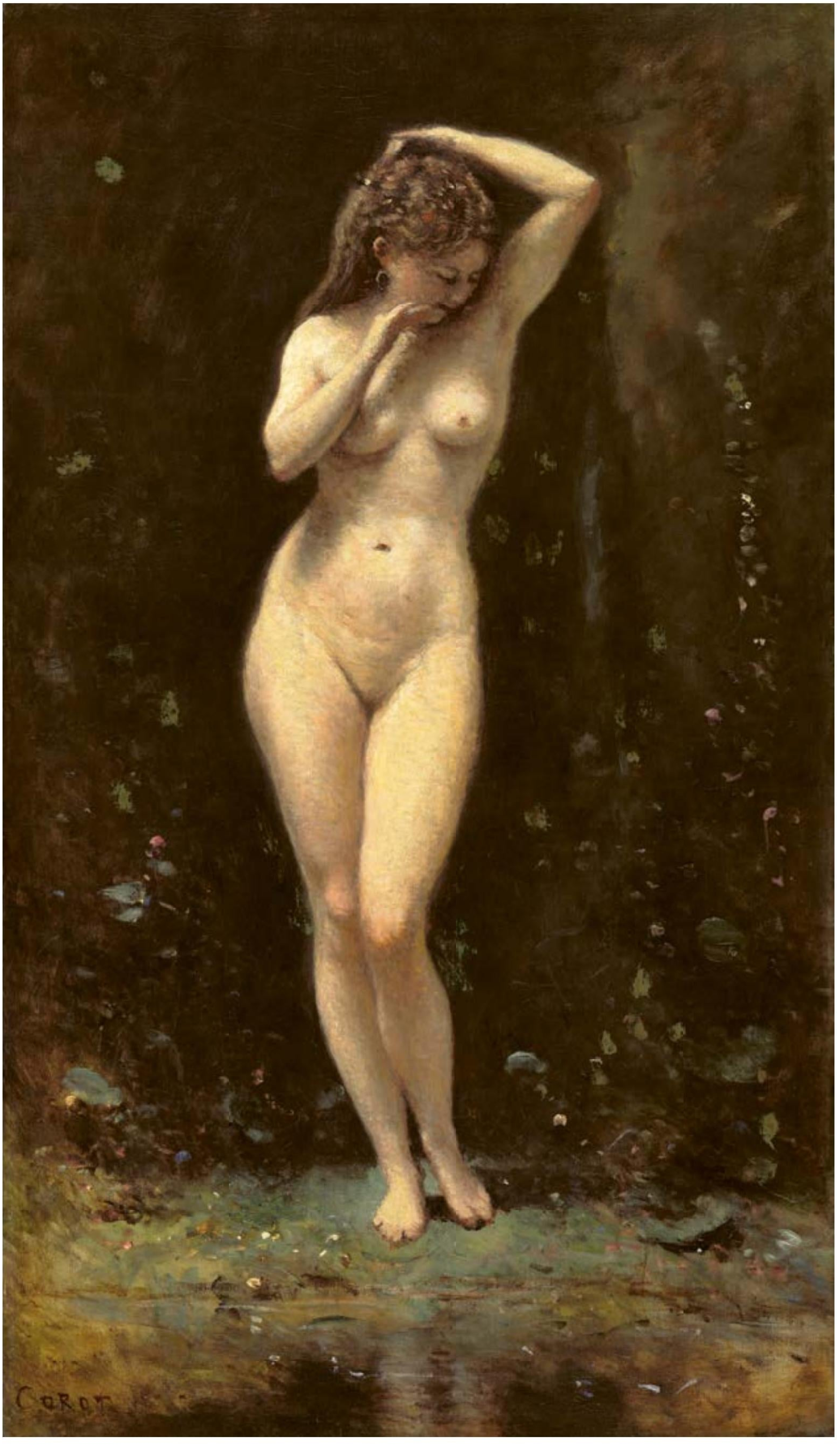
Bust of a Woman
Summer–Fall 1906



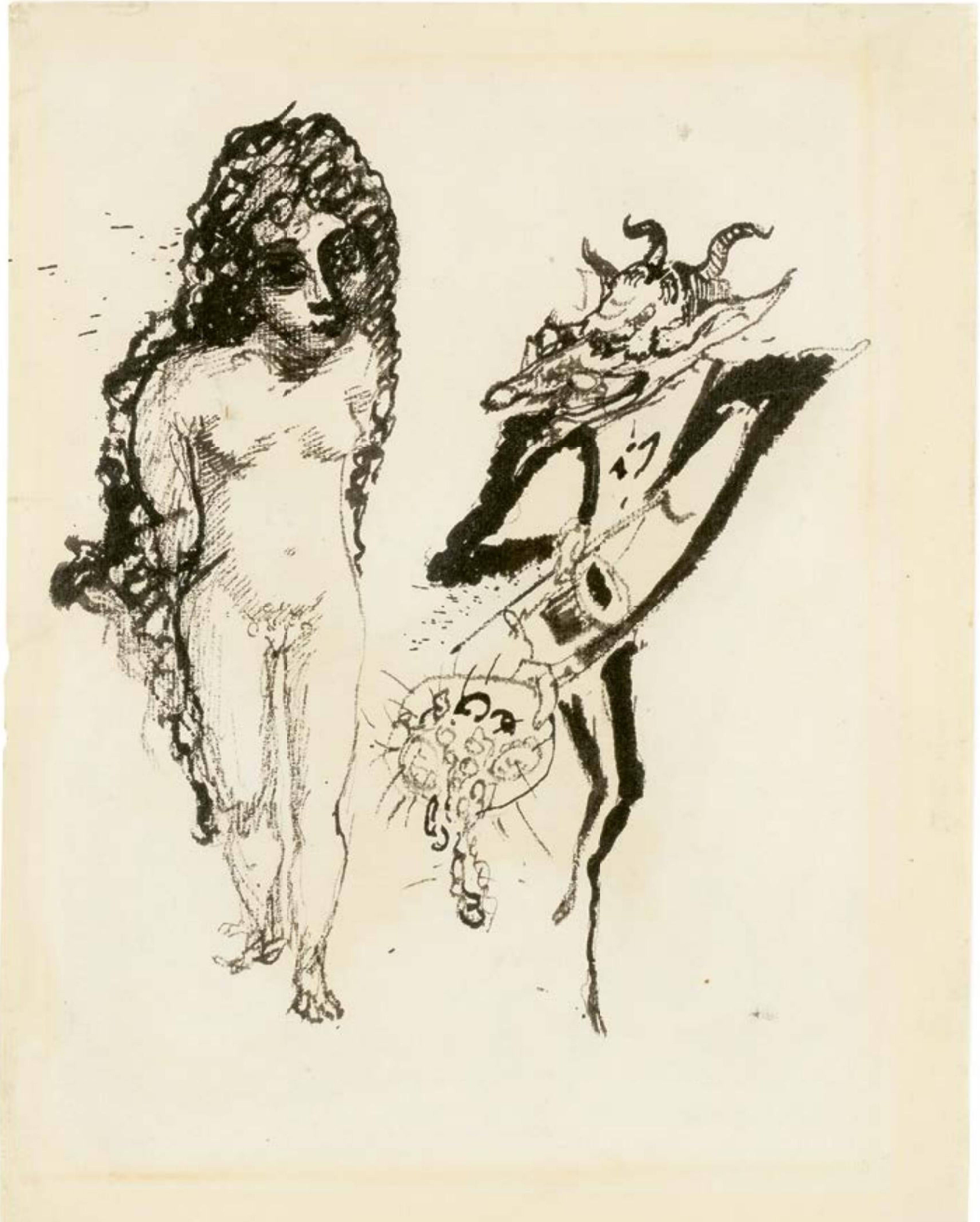
Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot
Jeune fille à sa toilette
(Girl at Her Toilette)
1850–75

Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot
El baño de Diana (La fuente)
(Diana Bathing [The Fountain])
ca. 1869–70




Corot

Woman and Devil (Femme et diable)
1906



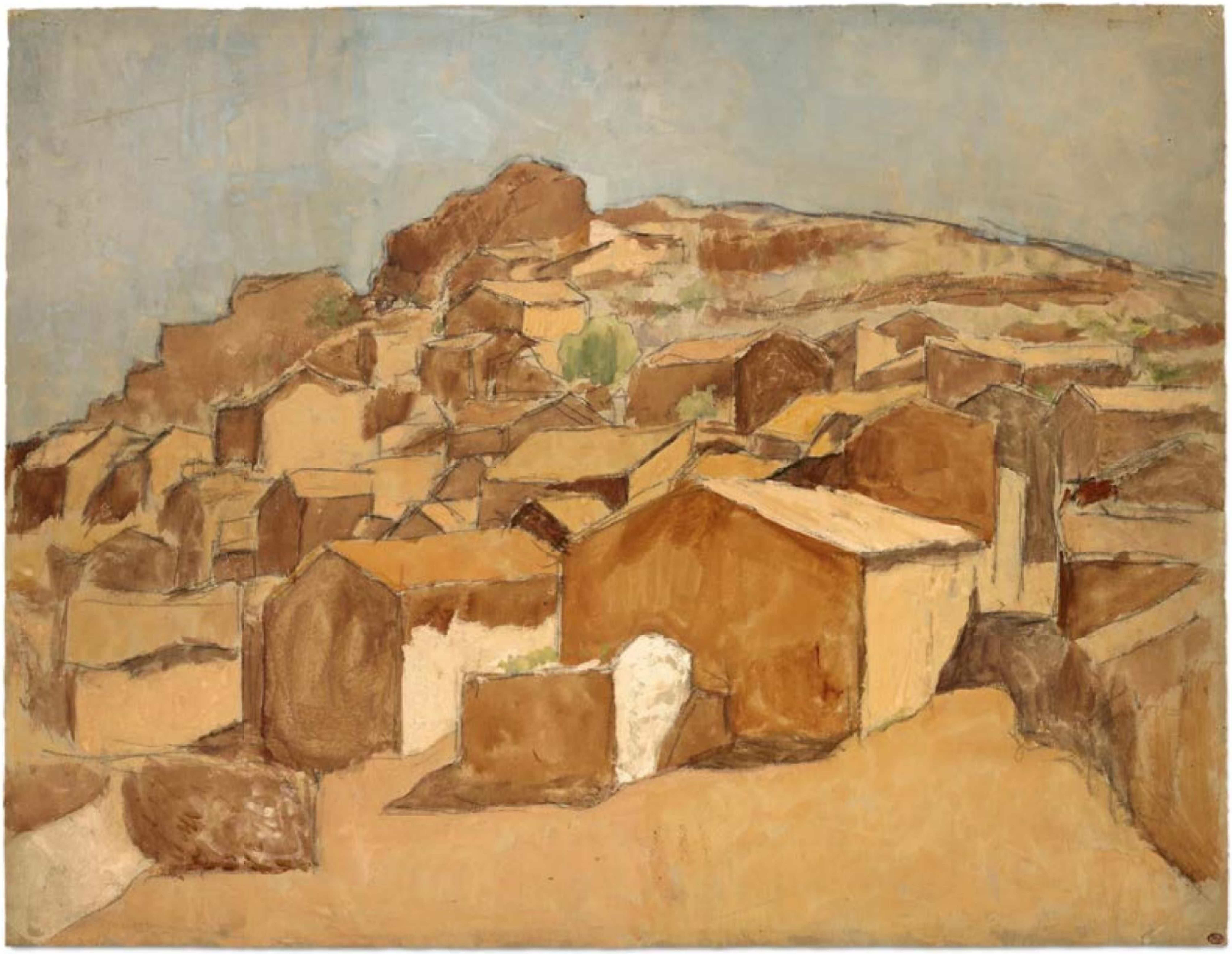
Vernacular Mythology

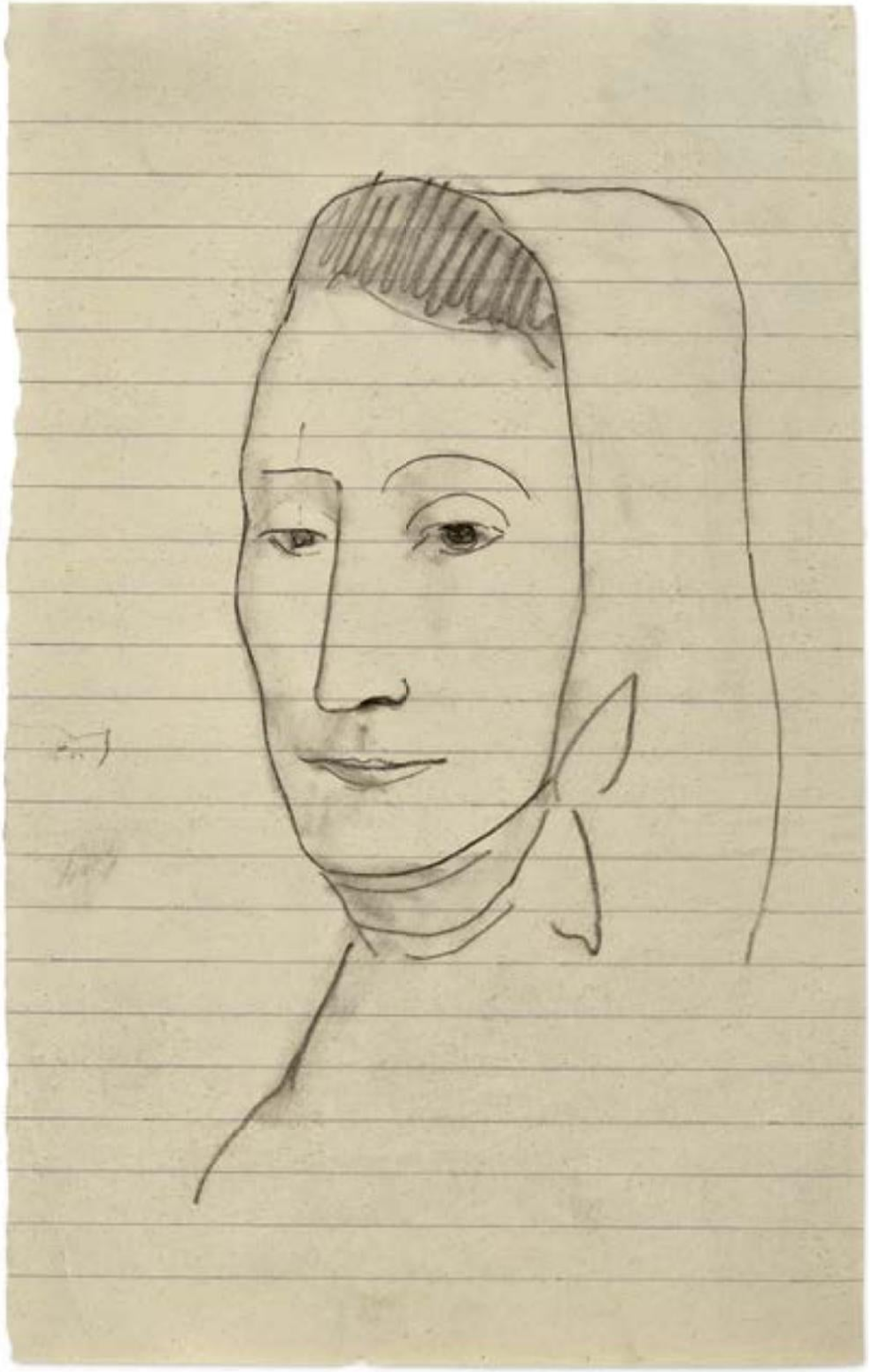
4

The scale of Picasso's production in Gósol was tremendous, making it difficult to establish a precise system that would organize the visual languages he was using. But there is not the slightest doubt that, in Gósol, Picasso introduced aspects that were vital to his own work and to the establishment of modern art. In Gósol we witness the shift from the concept of the nude to that of the body, the development of eroticism in male figures already begun in Paris, the integration of background and figure, the handling of aniconic surfaces, and the development of his chromatic arabesque. "Primitivism" also made its transformational entrance in his work in Gósol, as did Picasso's paraphrase of mythology, with which the artist stripped away the boundaries between high and low culture. But amid this highly complex set of registers, Picasso could not, obviously, overlook what was suggested to him by where he found himself. Apart from a few piquant drawings, he treated the vernacular world of Gósol through the prism of the Pyrenean peasants' acceptance of their existence and labor. The *Catalan Carnet* is particularly rich in this sort of reference. In his agrarian-themed paintings, Picasso seems to slide toward narrative, but even there he proposes ideas about the new plasticity and new concept of art. One of his landscapes suggests an early approach to Cubist forms. His depiction of animals and those who care for them possesses a concise sense of drawing that represents something new in his capacity for synthesis. Certain figures of women from the village play with forms that are somewhere between figurative and abstract, and they contain in their countenances the transformational sign of the mask-like face. This sign sheds light on the rise of "the primitive" in Picasso's work, and it would be joined by morphological suggestions from the Catalan Romanesque of Gósol that would resonate in Paris upon the artist's return.

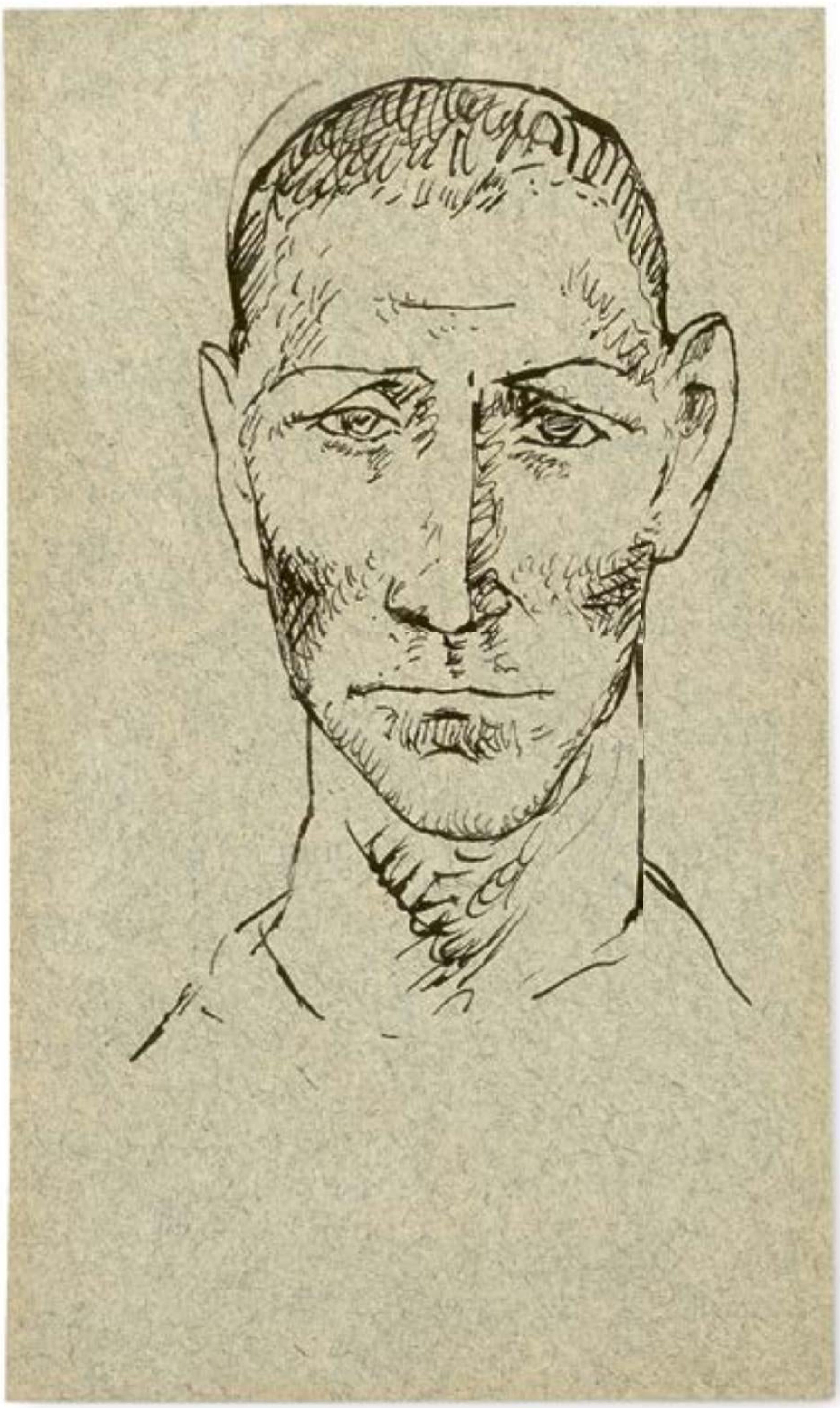
Vernacular Mythology

Paysage
(Landscape)
1906



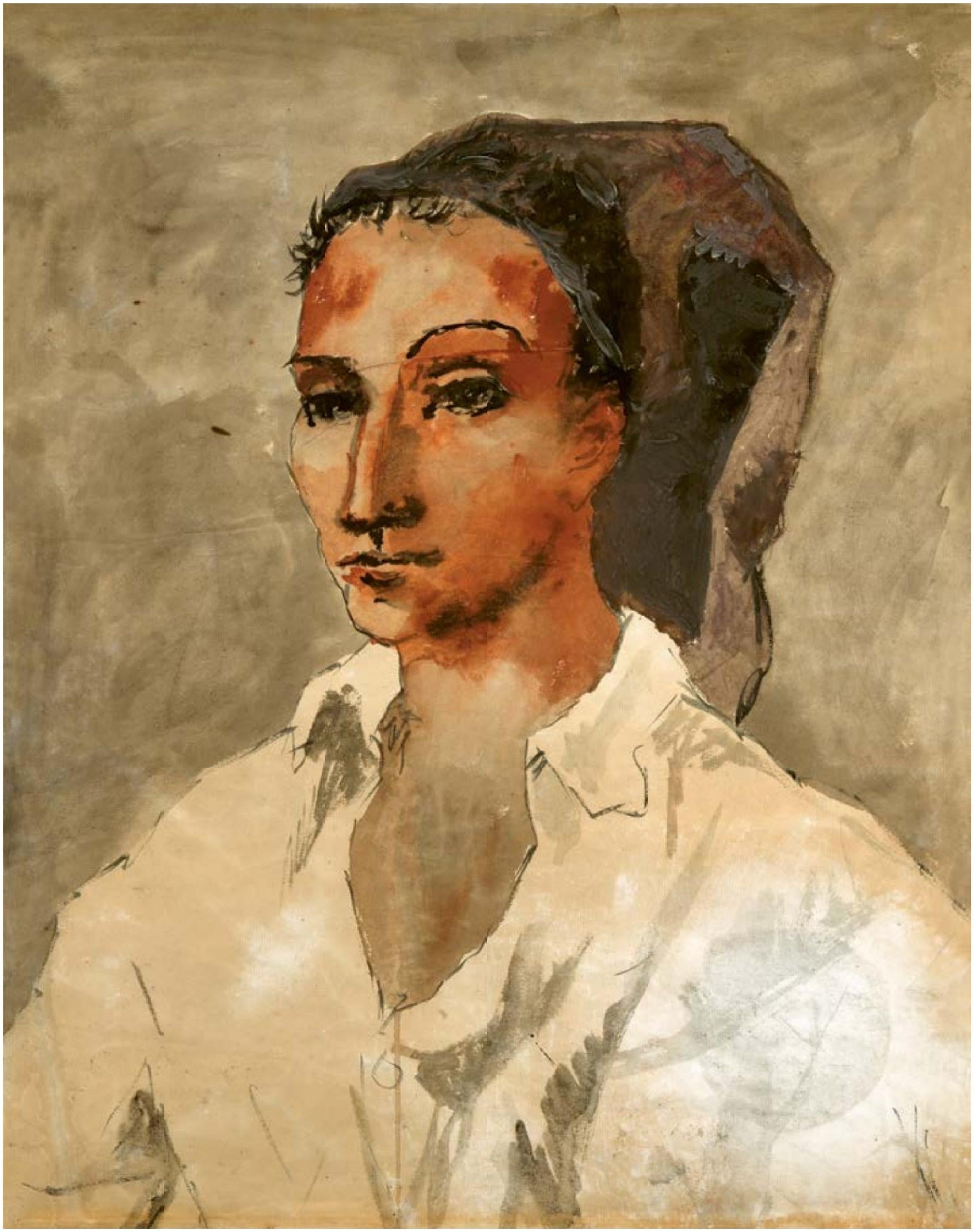


Étude de femme avec un fichu
(Study of a Woman with Kerchief)
1906



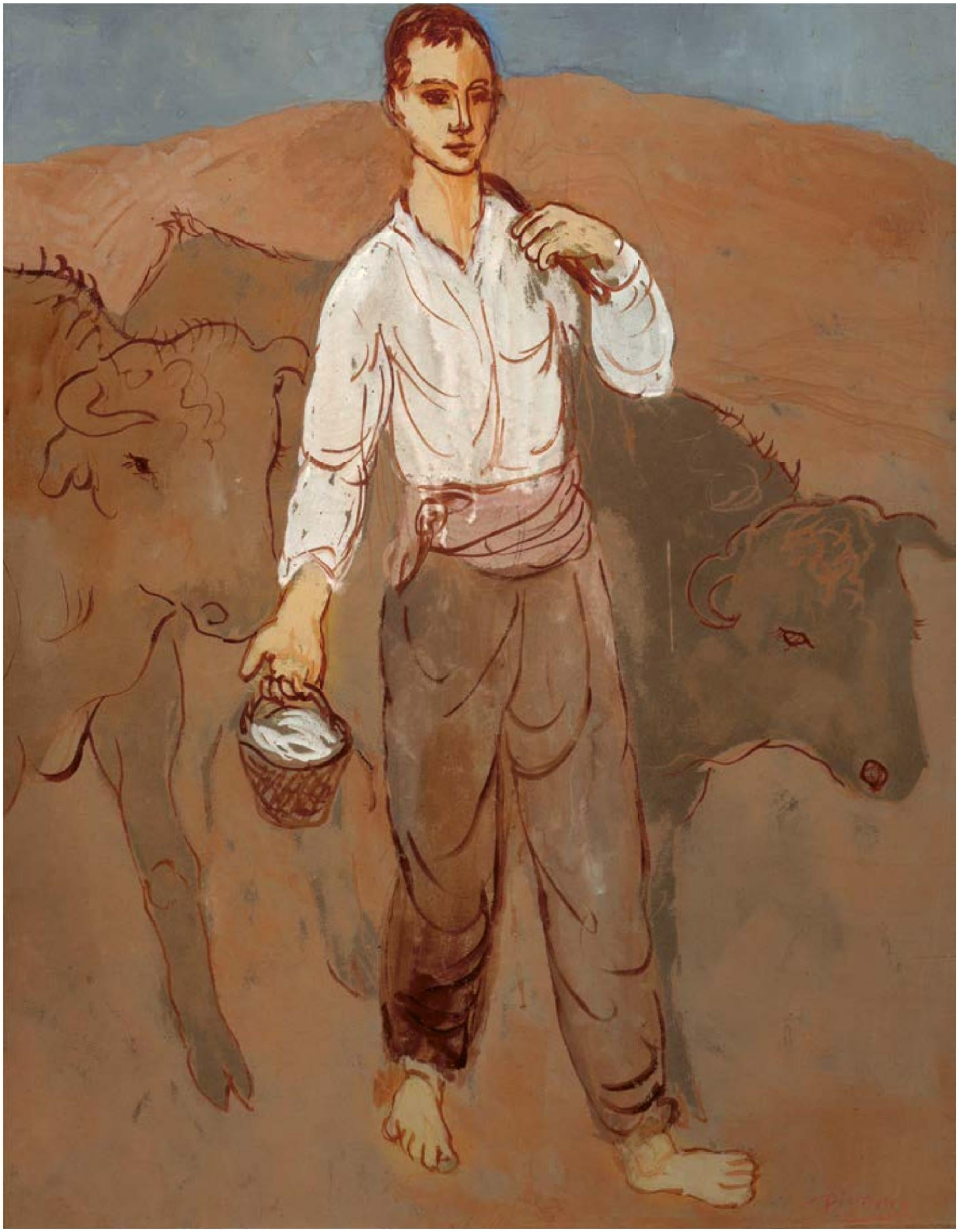
Portrait d'homme de face
(Portrait of a Man, Front)
1906

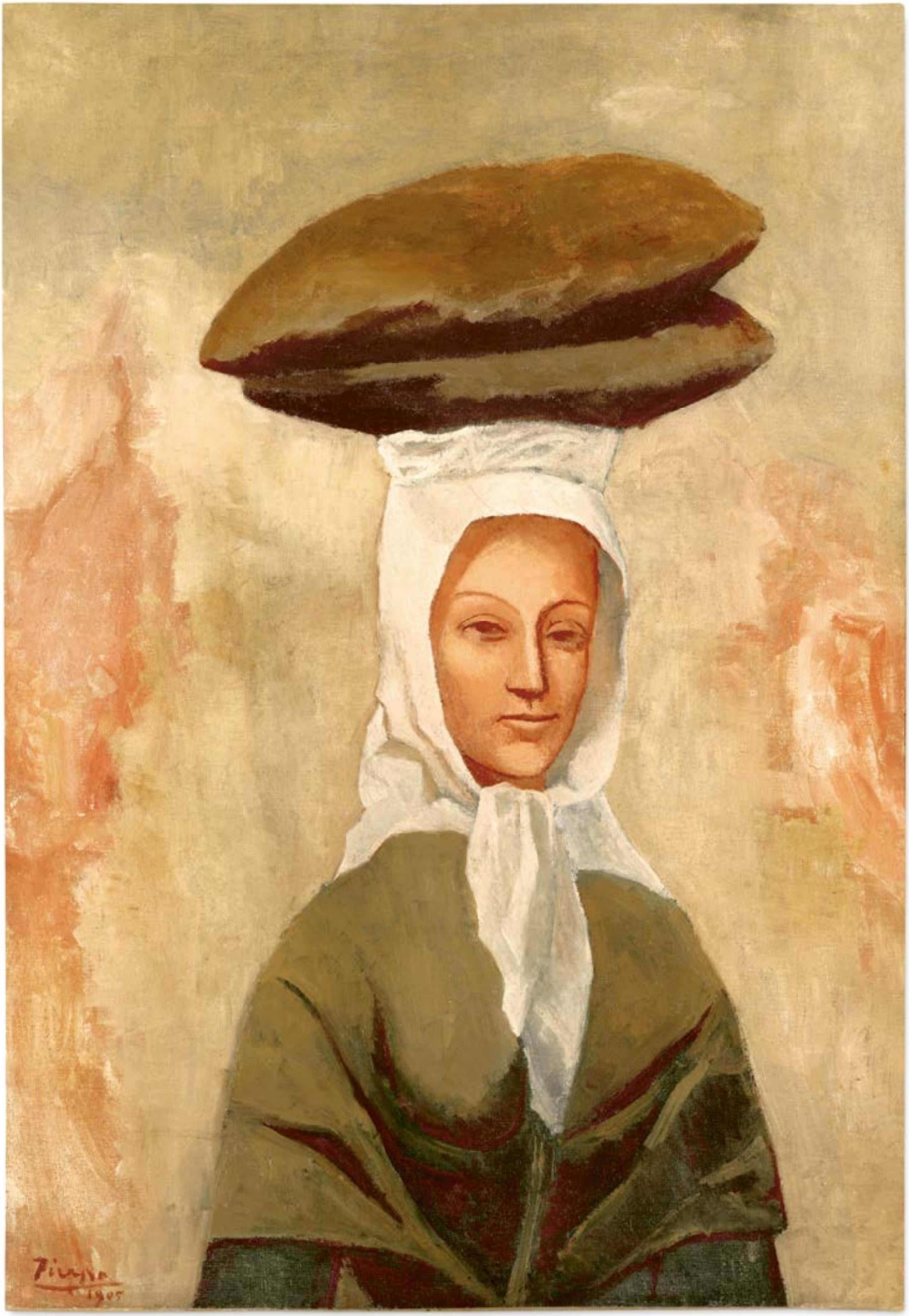
Jeune homme de Gósol
(Young Man from Gósol)
1906



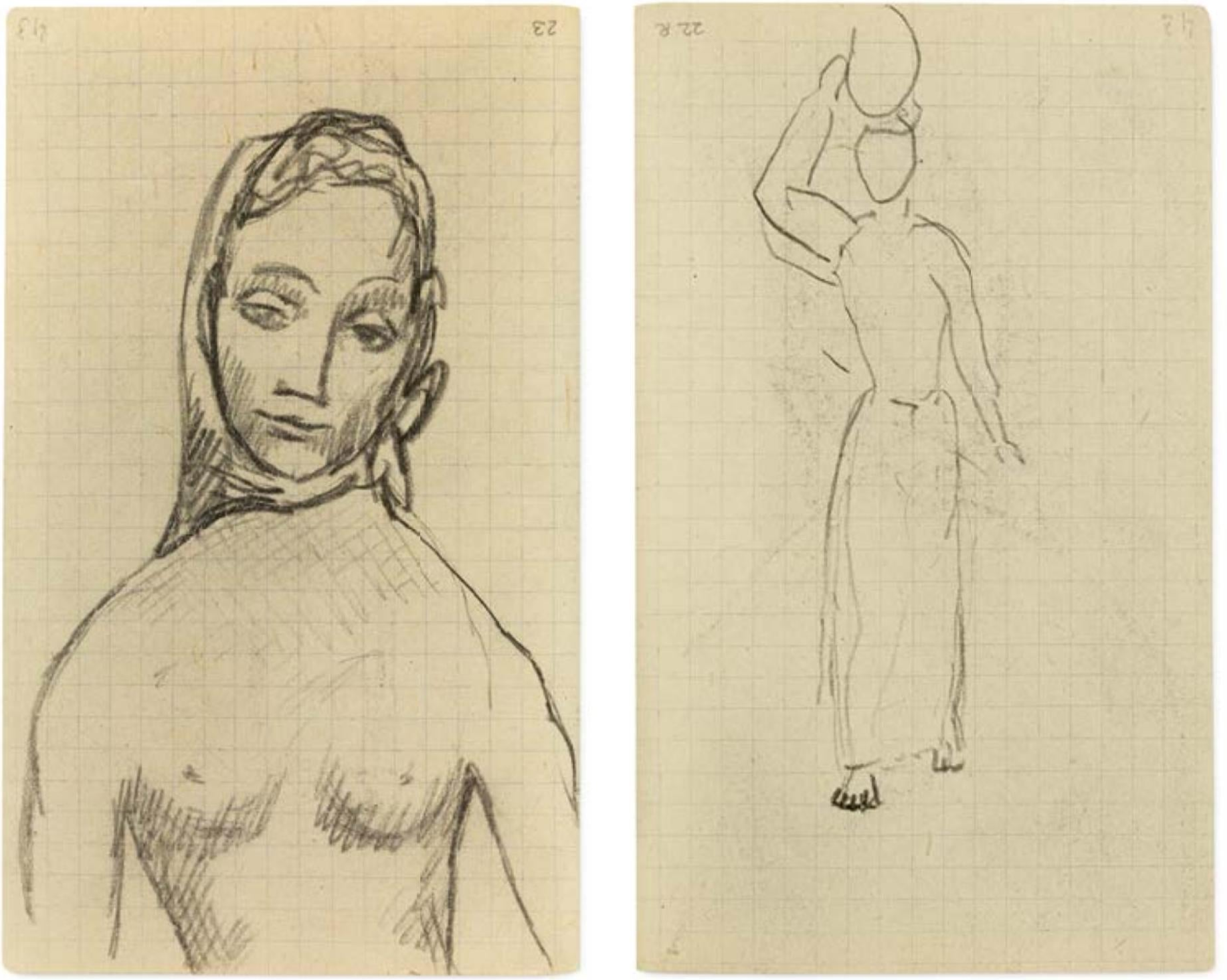
Boy with Cattle
1906

Woman with Loaves
1906

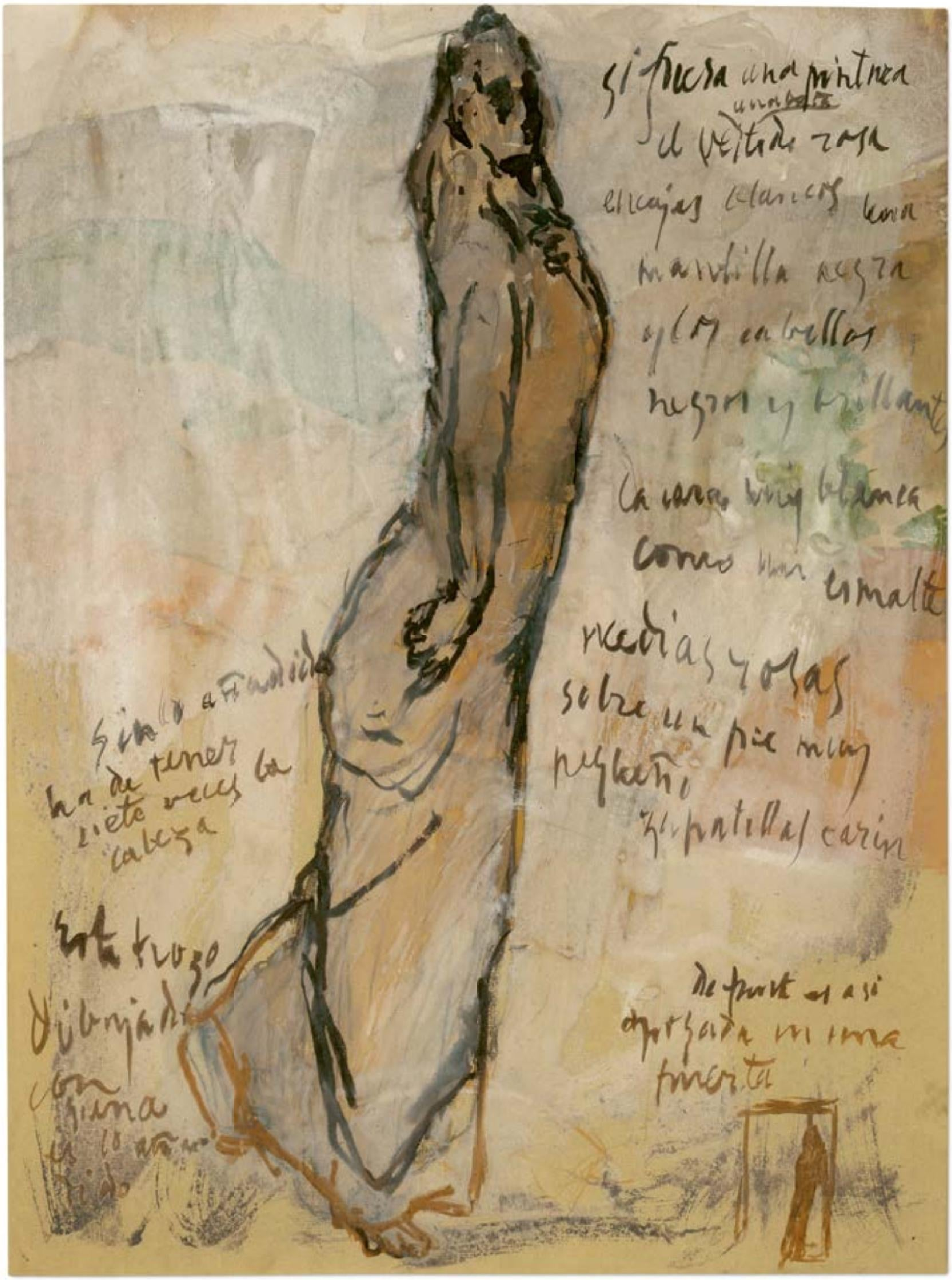



Picasso
1905

“Fernande con pañuelo” (Fernande in a Kerchief) and
“Acarreadora de agua” (Female Jar Carrier)
Catalan Carnet
Late May–July 1906



Femme debout marchant
(Standing Woman Walking)
1906


si fuera una pintura
una bata
el vestido rosa
encajes blancos una
mantilla negra
y los cabellos
negros y brillantes
La cara muy blanca
como un esmalte
medias rosas
sobre un pie muy
pequeño
zapatillas carin
Siendo añadida
ha de tener
siete veces la
cabeza
Este trozo
dibujado
con gana
de 10 años
De frente es así
apoyada en una
puertita

Fernande (Signifier/Signified)

5

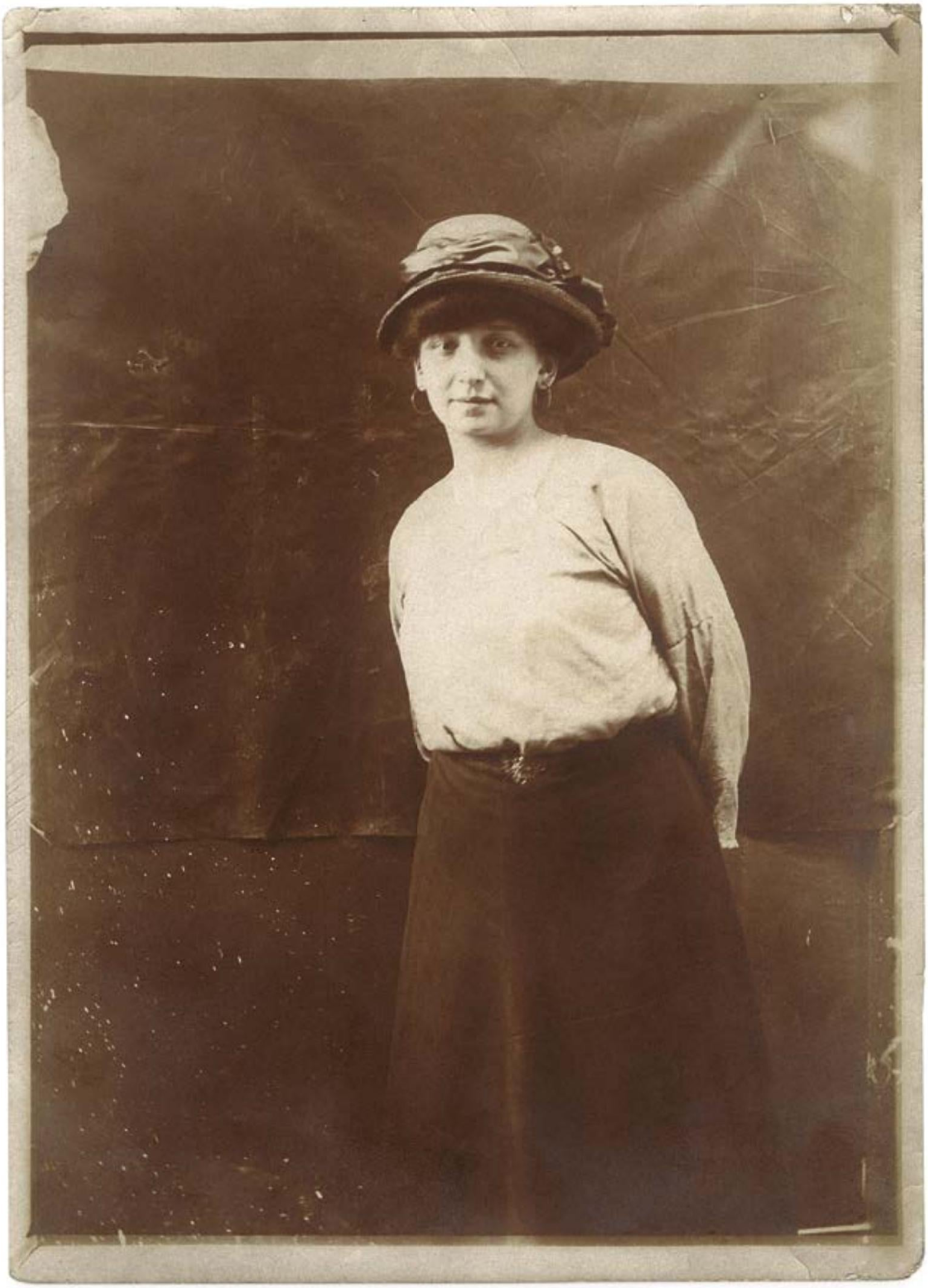
Fernande Olivier was Picasso's partner during moments that were crucial to modern art. Her real name was Amélie Lang, and she was just a few months older than the artist himself. The two began living together in the Bateau-Lavoir in August 1904. Fernande had had a complicated personal history full of traumatic experiences, which meant her relationships with other people were not simple. The artistic milieu was not foreign to her. She was educated and cultured to the extent possible. She worked as a model. She was knowledgeable about perfume. She would have liked to have been a painter. She was able to give French classes to the couple's friends from the United States. Her relationships with Max Jacob, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Gertrude Stein were excellent, especially with Gertrude. Between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-five, Picasso might have been influenced by libertarian thinking, but in his relationship with Fernande, his outlook continued to reflect certain aspects of the patriarchal society around him. He did not know how to place her. Their intimate relationship was intense; their life together, complex.

During 1906, especially during the weeks in Gósol, Picasso developed an iconotype of a female nude that critics identify with "Fernande" but that is above all a point of departure for Picasso. He used Fernande's countenance in a similar way. He rarely used it conventionally as a portrait. Fernande's countenance or physiognomy was most frequently a signifier awaiting its signified. The signifier was the face whose features shifted and that tended to become detached from any search for resemblance. The signified was the visual language that Picasso was experimenting with. In working in this way, Picasso connected Fernande—in the shadow of the Pedraforca mountain—to the Gósol vernacular; he competed with the Fauves in his chromatic drive; he prefigured the "Ingresian" classicism of the 1920s; and he offered an early allusion to the mask, the formal synthesis that it demanded, and the powerful cultural referent—*art nègre*—that it implied. In his sculptures, with Fernande's features, Picasso worked both with the concept of the dematerialization of form and with that of simplified defined volume. Also using Fernande's features, he created his first fully "primitivist" sculptures. This iconotype was key in Picasso's first definition of modern art.

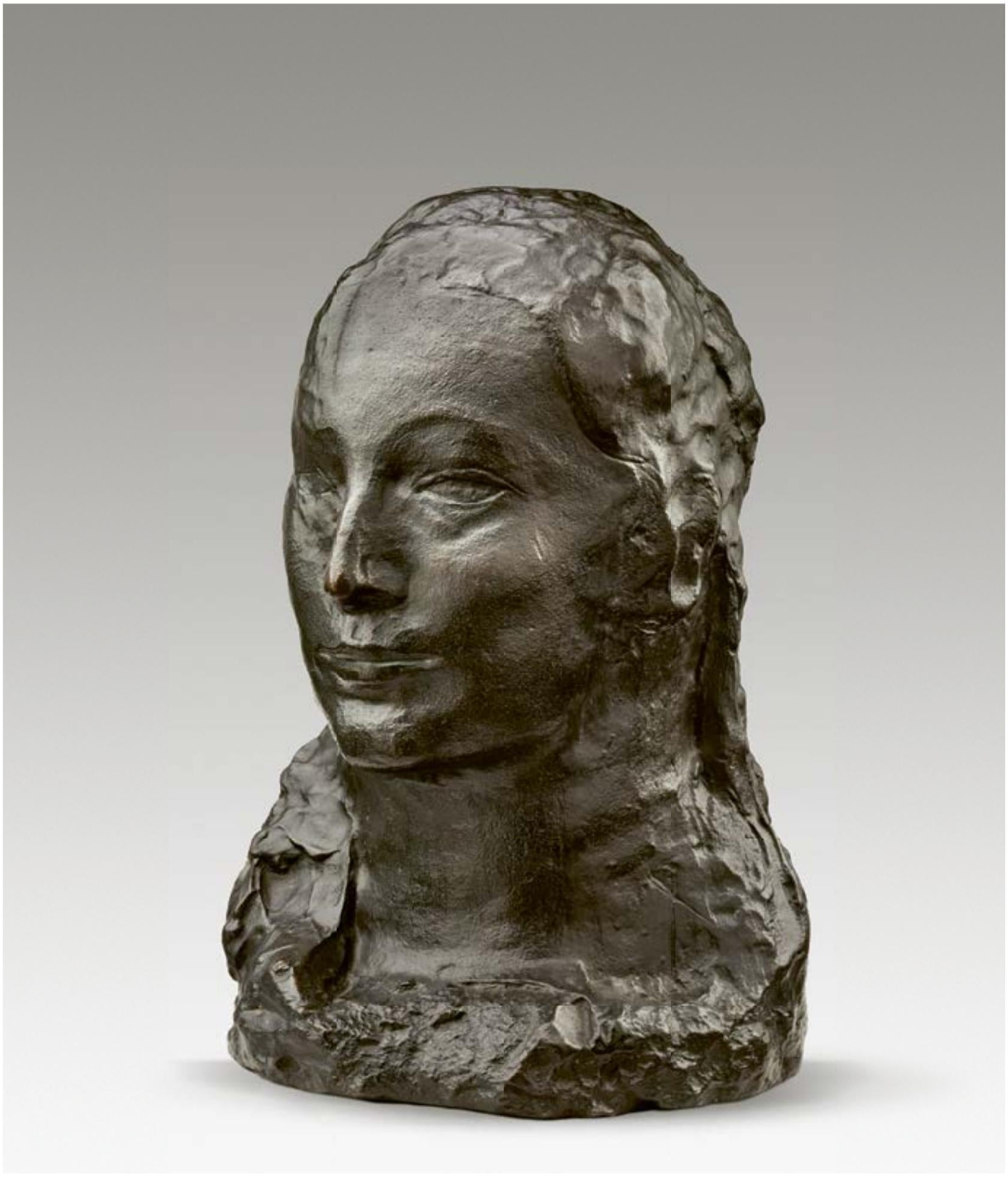
Pablo and Fernande separated in 1912. She shared her recollections about the artist in various publications beginning in 1930. Her memoirs continue to be essential in understanding Picasso's personality and work.

Fernande
(Signifier/Signified)

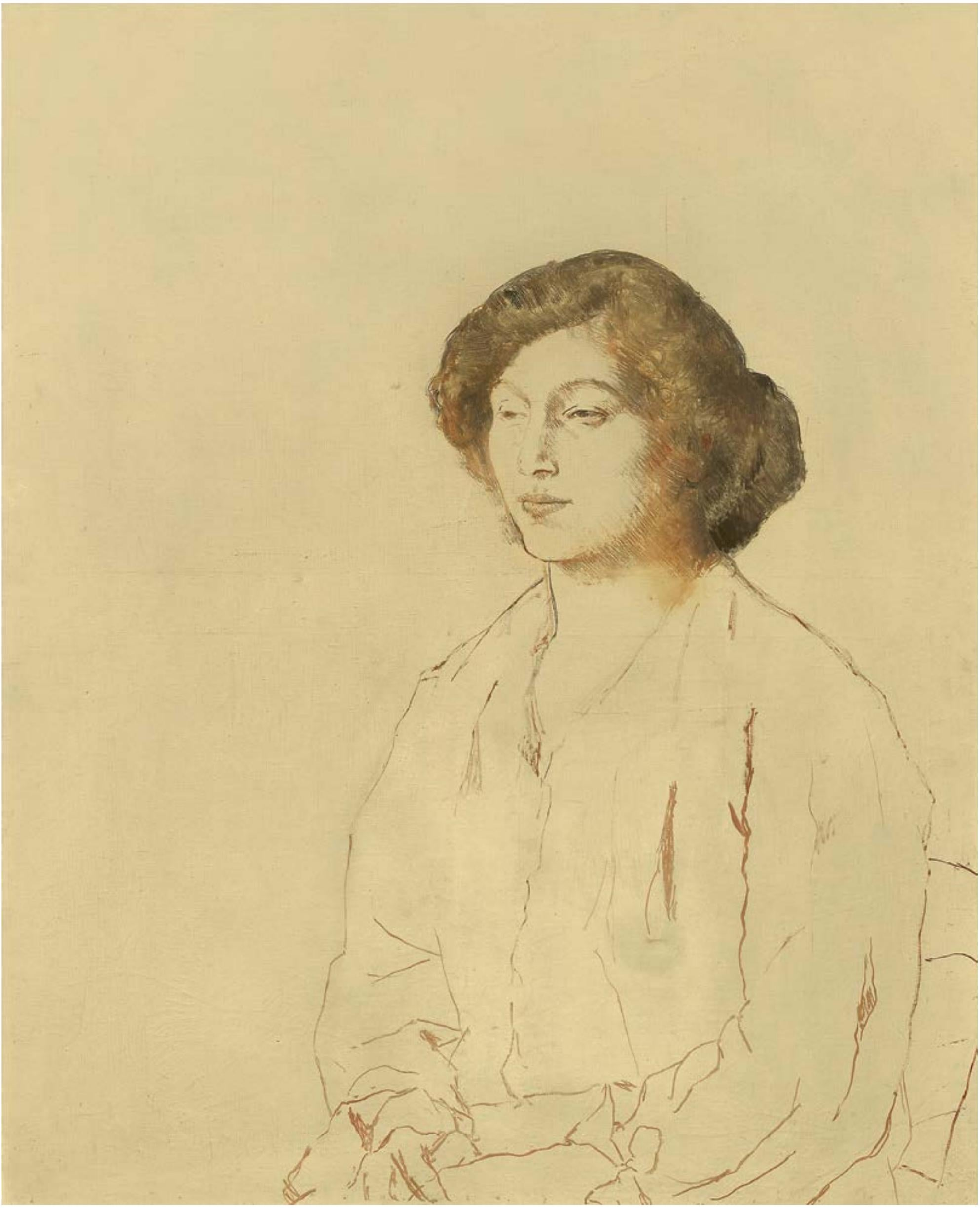
Unknown Author
Fernande Belvallé Olivier
ca. 1906–09



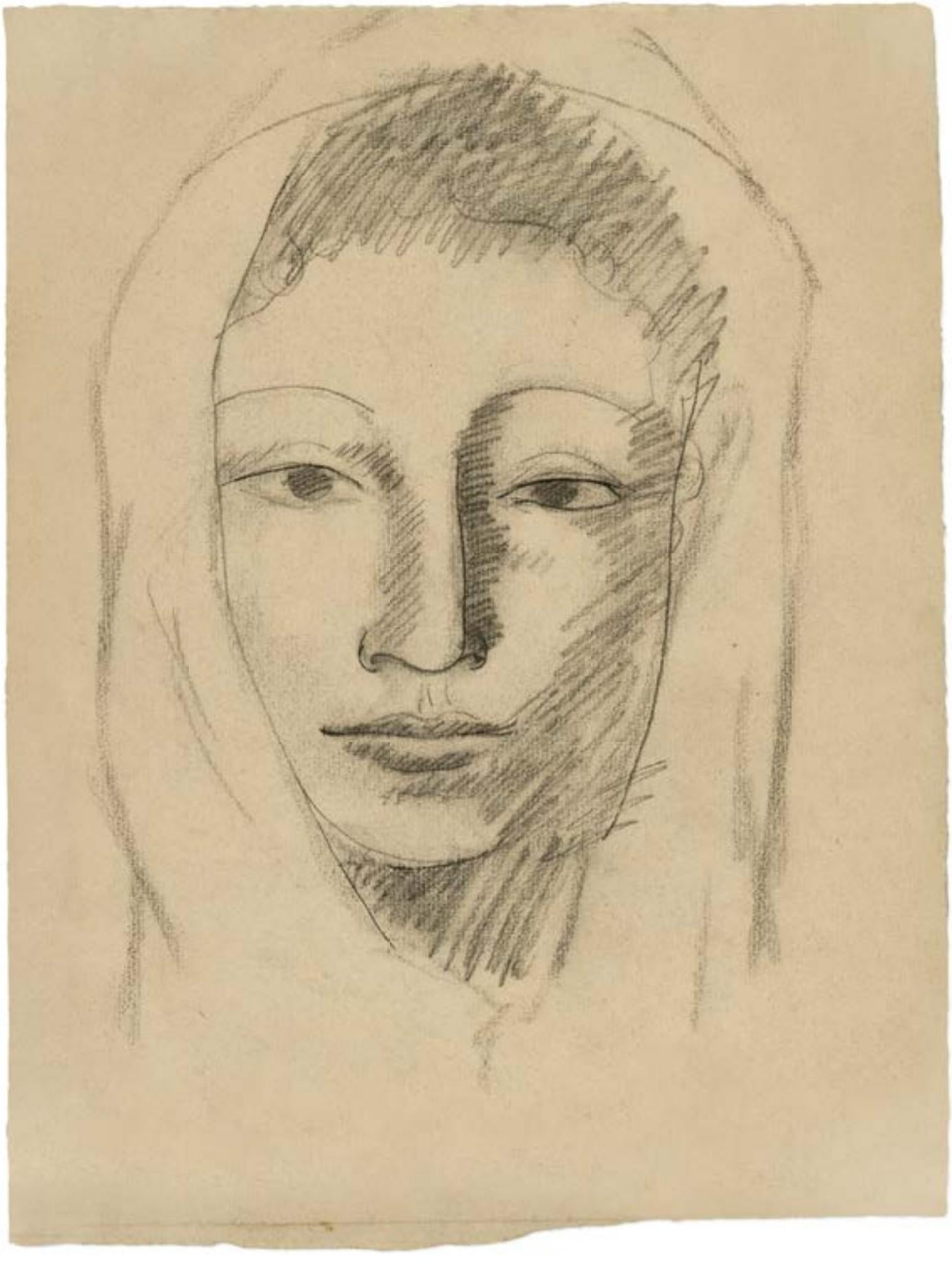
Tête de femme (Fernande)
(Head of a Woman [Fernande])
1906



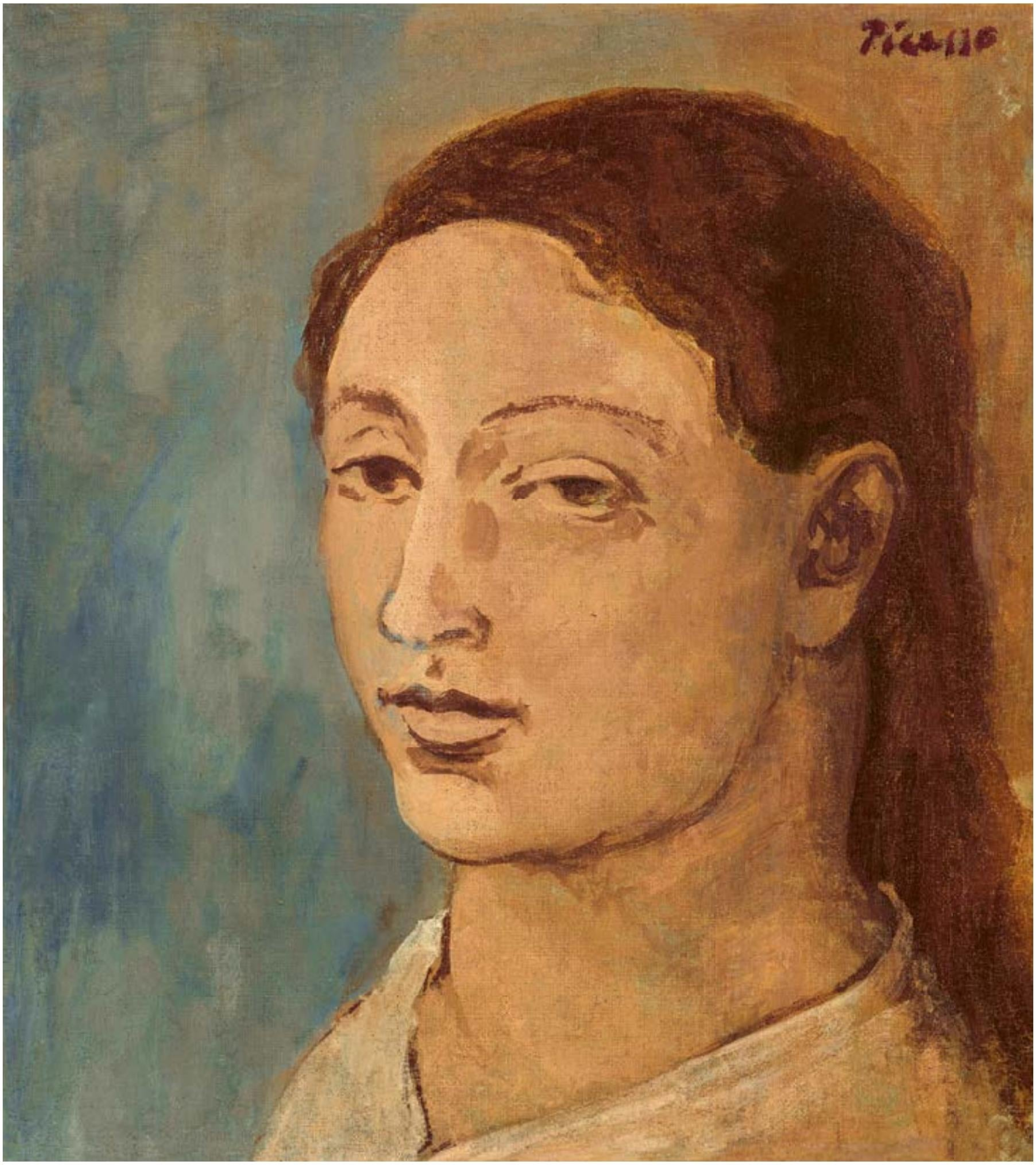
Fernande Olivier
1905–06

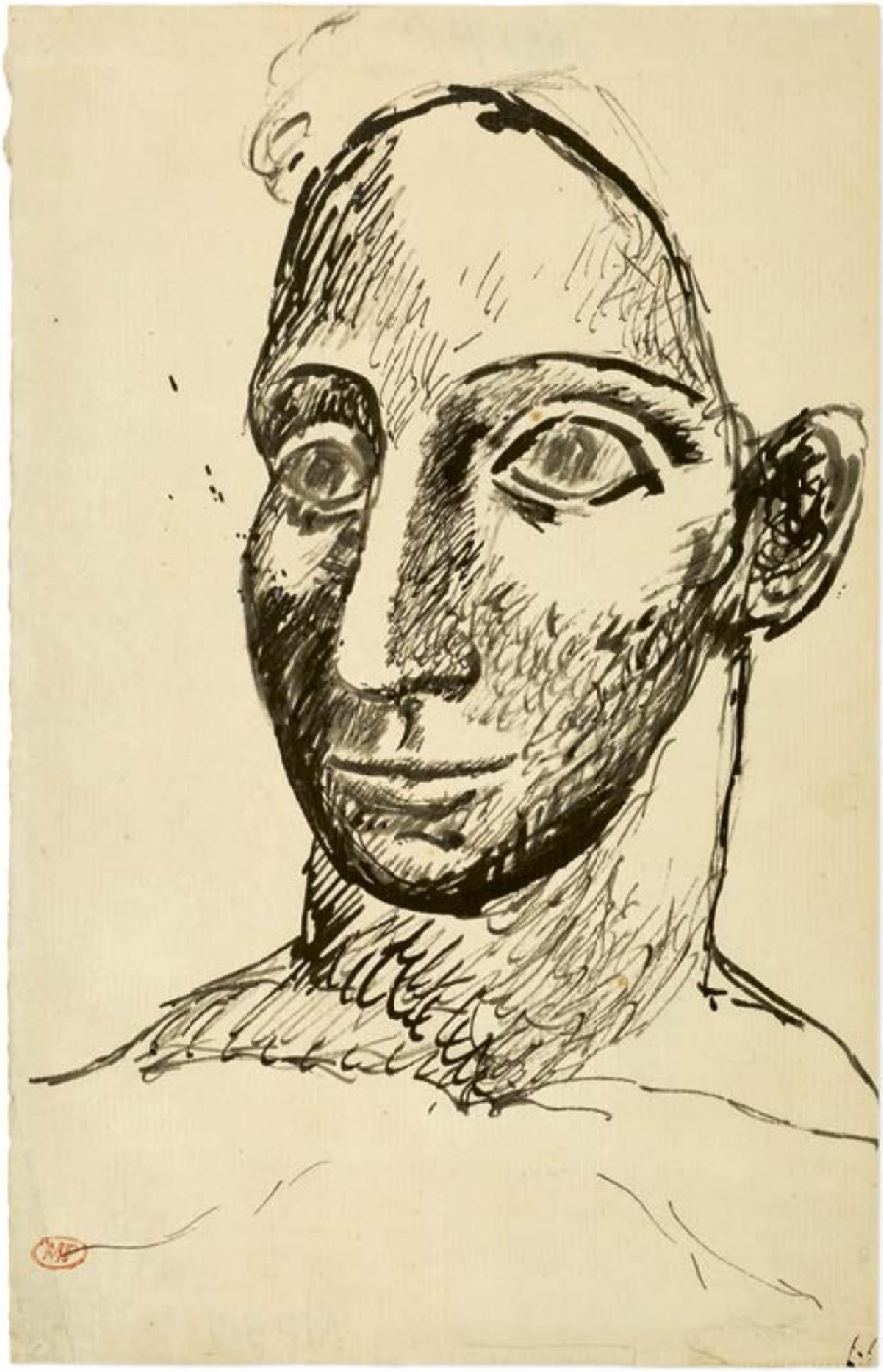


Portrait of Fernande Olivier
Summer 1906



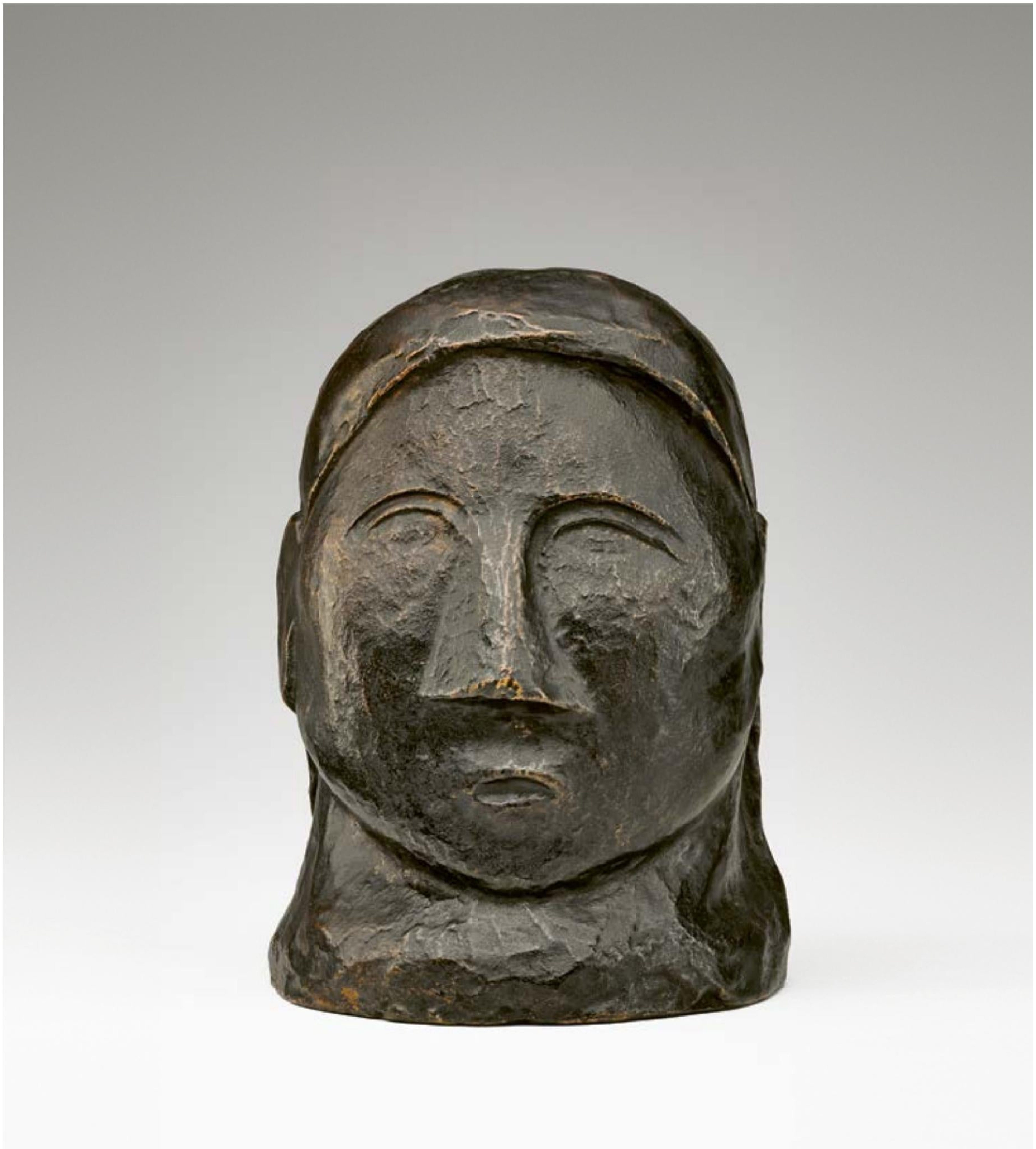
Tête de Fernande
(Head of Fernande)
1906



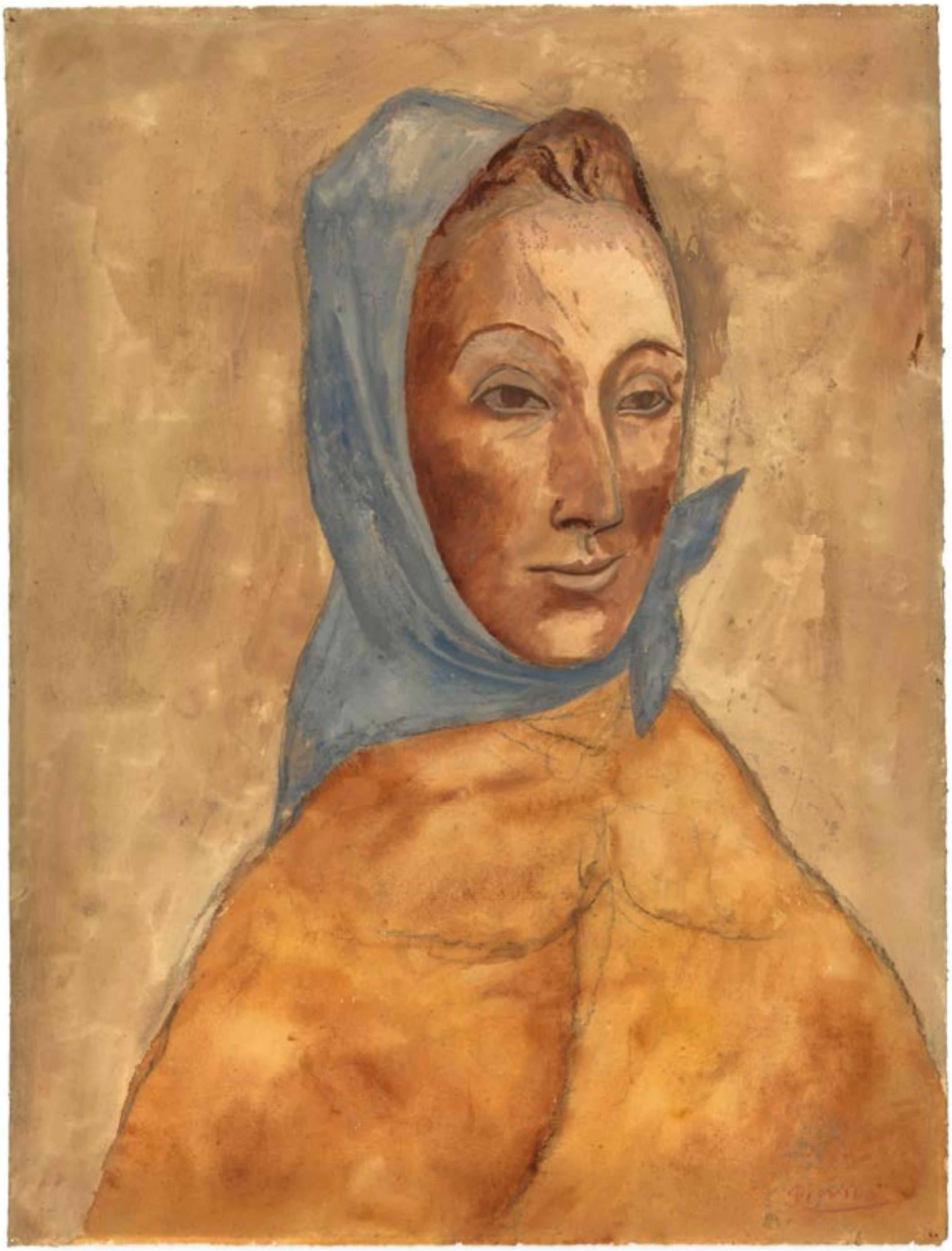


Tête
(Head)
Fall 1906

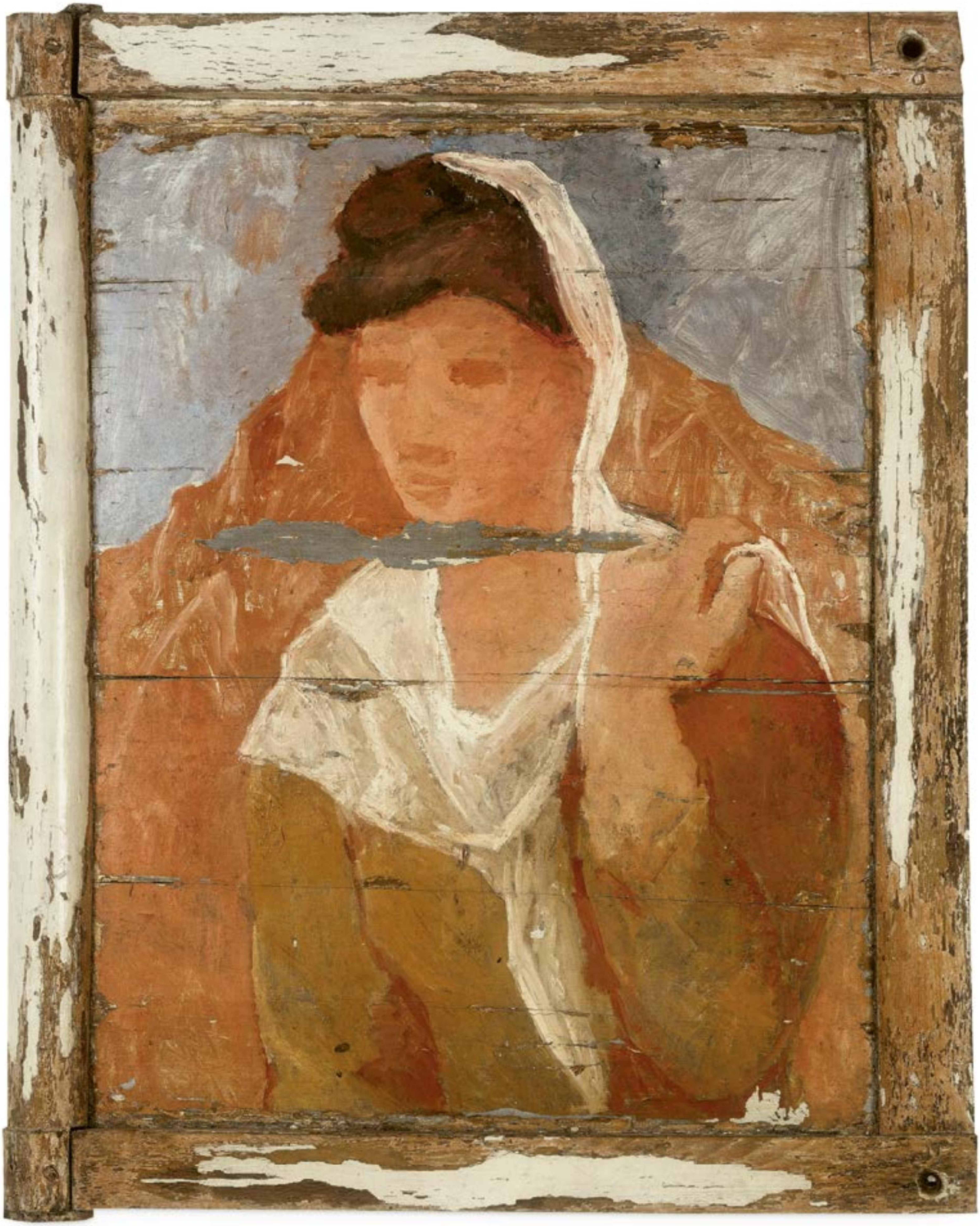
Tête de femme
(Head of a Woman)
1906–07



Woman with Kerchief (Portrait of Fernande Olivier)
1906



Fernande with Mantilla
Spring–Summer 1906



Physiognomies

9

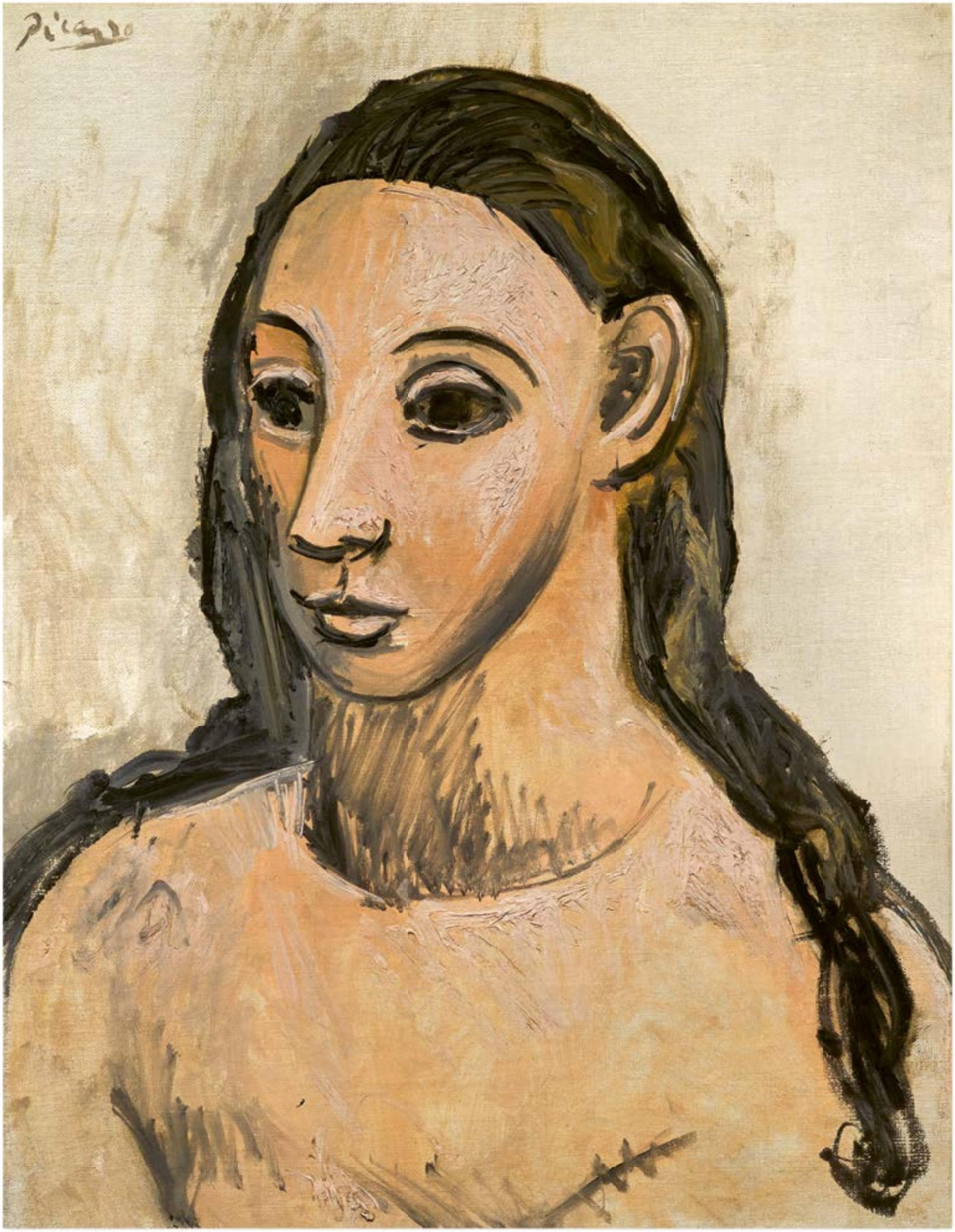
The ancient study of *physiognomy* sought to discover if the affects of the soul shaped physical appearance. The koine of the “primitive” led the Picasso of 1906 to create unexpected facial features—unexpected and mysterious for those contemporary viewers unfamiliar with Picasso’s various paths, appropriations, citations and, therefore, with the intentions behind his work.

The physiognomy in *Head of a Young Woman* is enigmatic. Picasso is no longer seeking here the fusion between background and figure—although he will return to that. Moreover, the treatment of the painting’s surface is deliberately rough—or rudimentary—and the *non finito* has been replaced by decorative graphic markings that create the sensation that it is unfinished. All of this lends a “primitive” aspect to the figure and to the work as a whole. But the artist has reduced the face to an oval, the neck to a cylinder, and the shoulders to a half-sphere. We are witnessing the fusion between Picasso’s synergy with the “primitive” and his reading of Cézanne. But there are other traces present in the work that are not so immediately obvious. The hair recalls the Venus figures from the *La Toilette* series. The presentative nature of the figure is visible in Greek fired-clay figures that would later become part of Roman culture. The joining of the chin and ear has been taken from Iberian art. The eyes and the prognathous jaw come from Egyptian art. The idea of the mask-like face belongs to *art nègre*. And the figure as a whole is very similar to the male figure in the Sarcophagus of the Spouses in Cerveteri. In its koine of the “primitive,” this figure recalls the terracotta sculptures of the goddess Tanit from the Balearic Islands, which, however, the artist never was able to see. The powerful black eyes and the absent gaze make Picasso’s figurative synthesis mysteriously human. But the artist quickly absorbed his new figurative synthesis, converting it into a language of signs, as demonstrated by *Tête de femme* (Head of a Woman) and *Buste de femme (Fernande)* (Bust of Woman [Fernande]). In both works, moreover, what Picasso developed in 1906 extends into 1907, taking on its own identity.

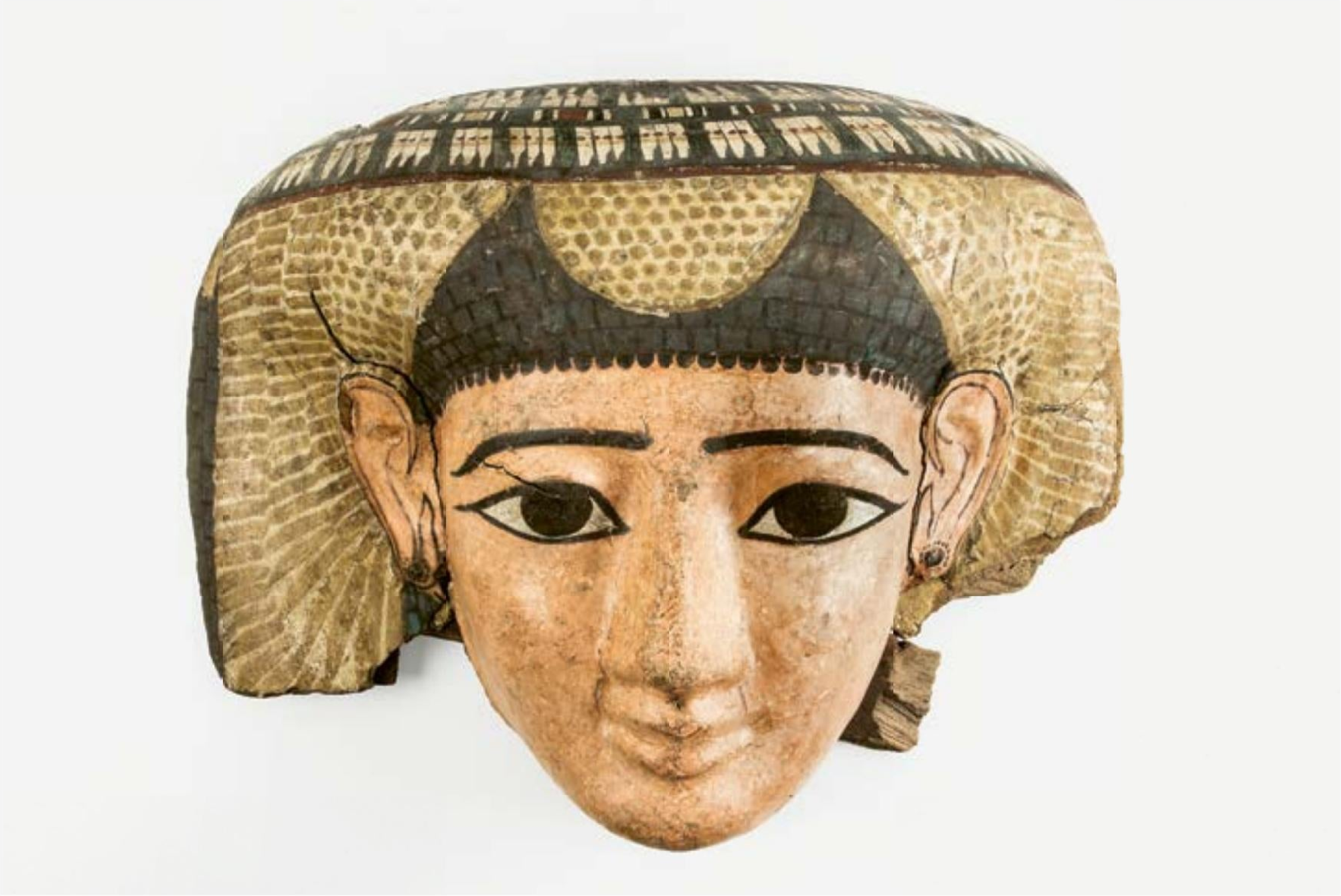
On the other hand, in 1906 Picasso’s interest in the *profil perdu* is heightened. This three-quarter profile from the back, which Picasso reads in Dürer and in Ingres’s *Valpinçon Bather*, allows him to create a sense of mystery and to “dispute” both the inherited idea of representation and the visual system established during the Renaissance. From this point of view, *Femme nue de trois-quarts dos* is a 1907 work that, again, picks up on what Picasso developed in 1906. It is also heir to 1906 in its references to Iberian art, to “primitivism,” and to ethnographic photography. But now Picasso adds a meeting point at the limit between the figurative and the abstract, which, in the future, will mark the poetics of his Cubist work.

Physiognomies

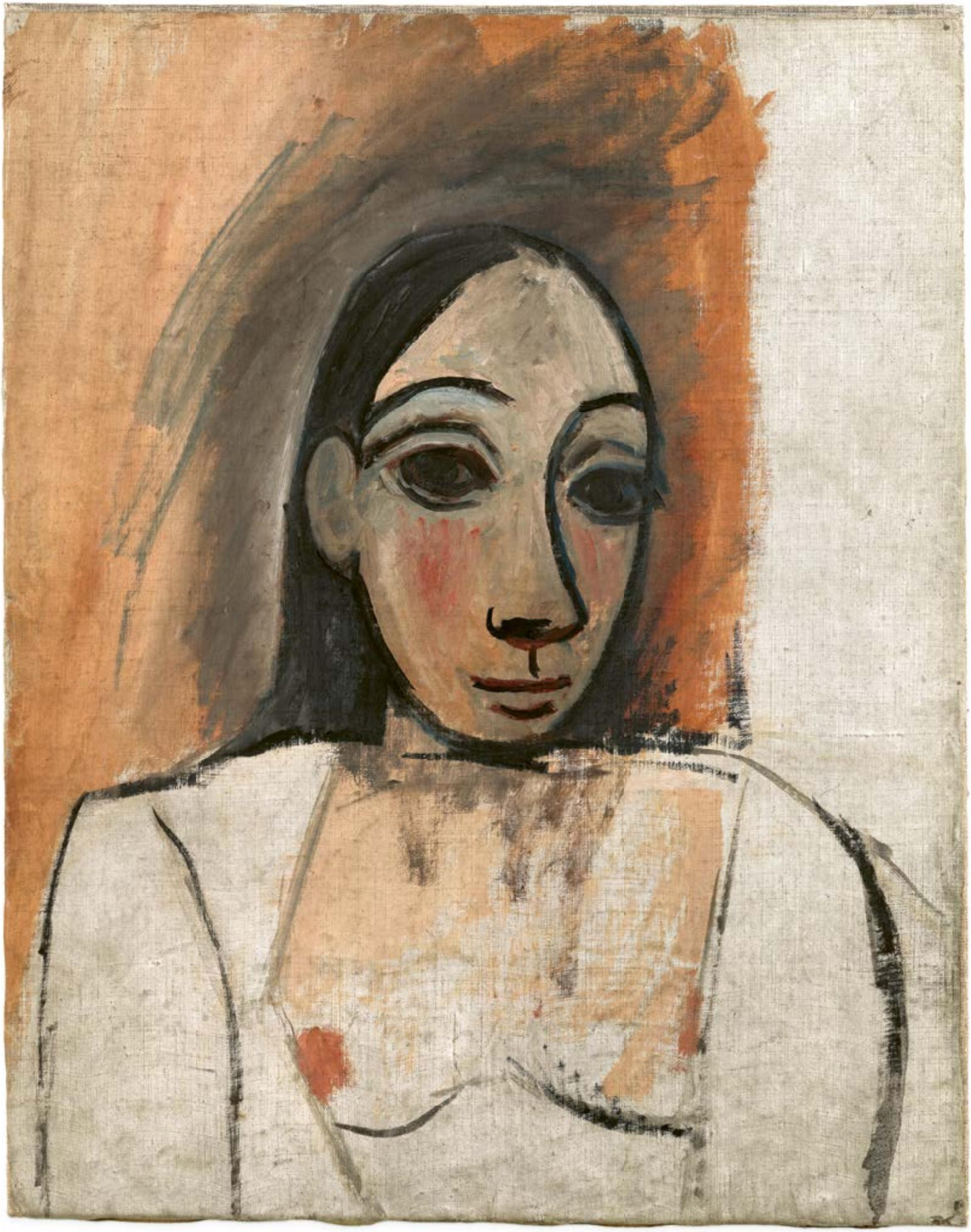
Buste de jeune femme
(Bust of a Young Woman)
Fall 1906



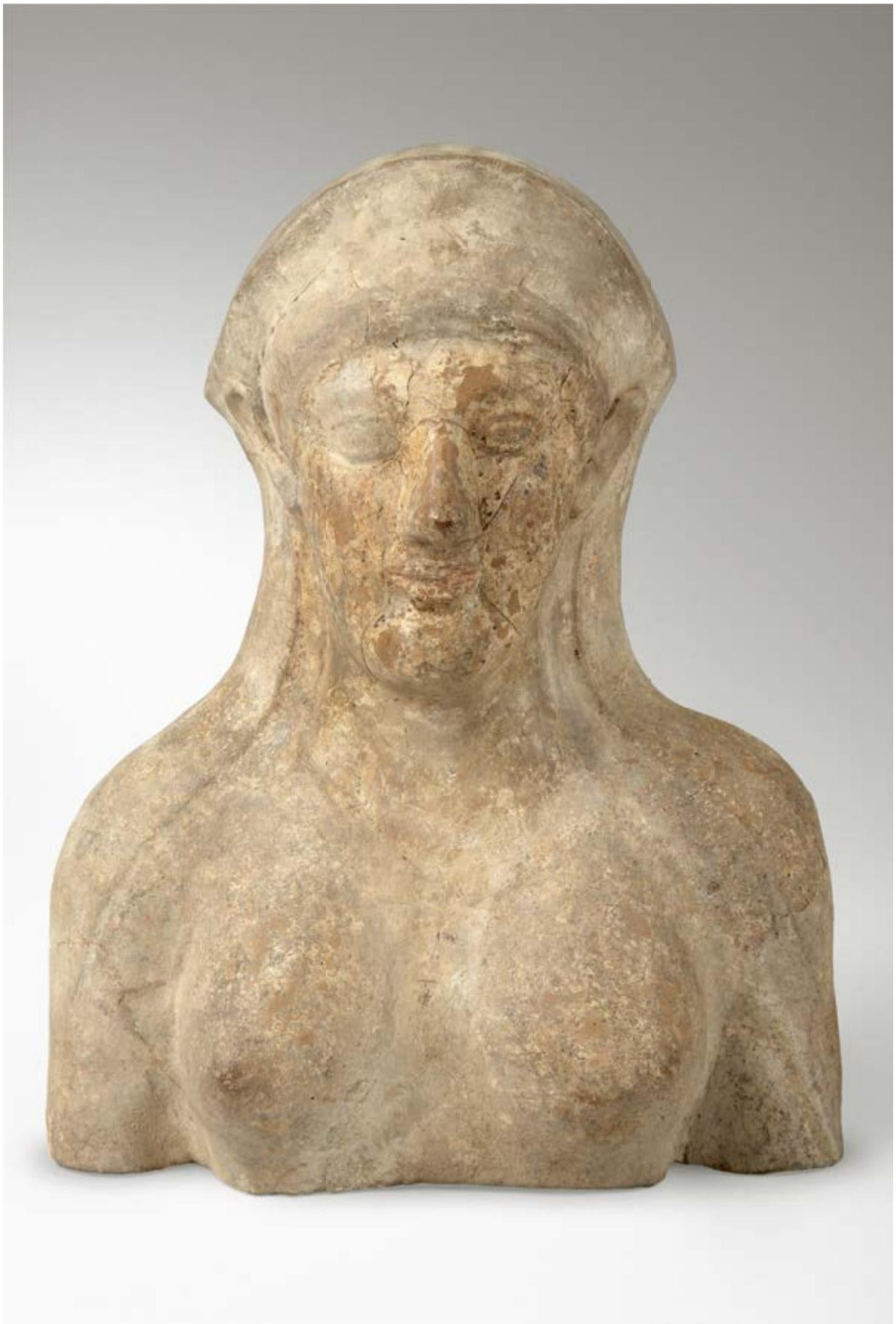
Unknown Author
Egyptian mask
664–332 BCE



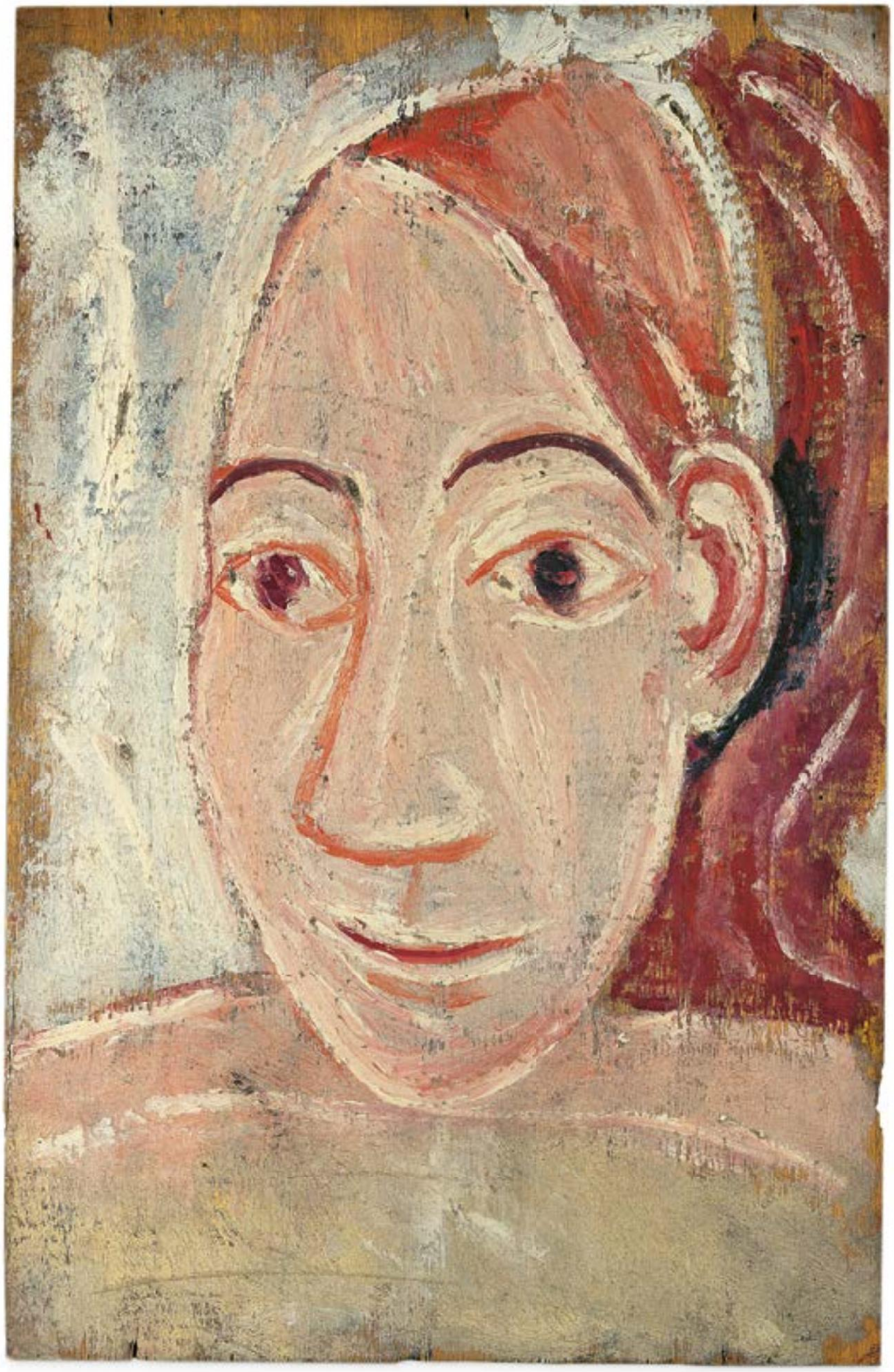
Buste de femme (étude pour "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon")
(Bust of a Woman [study for "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon"])
Spring 1907



Unknown Author
Bust
5th century BCE



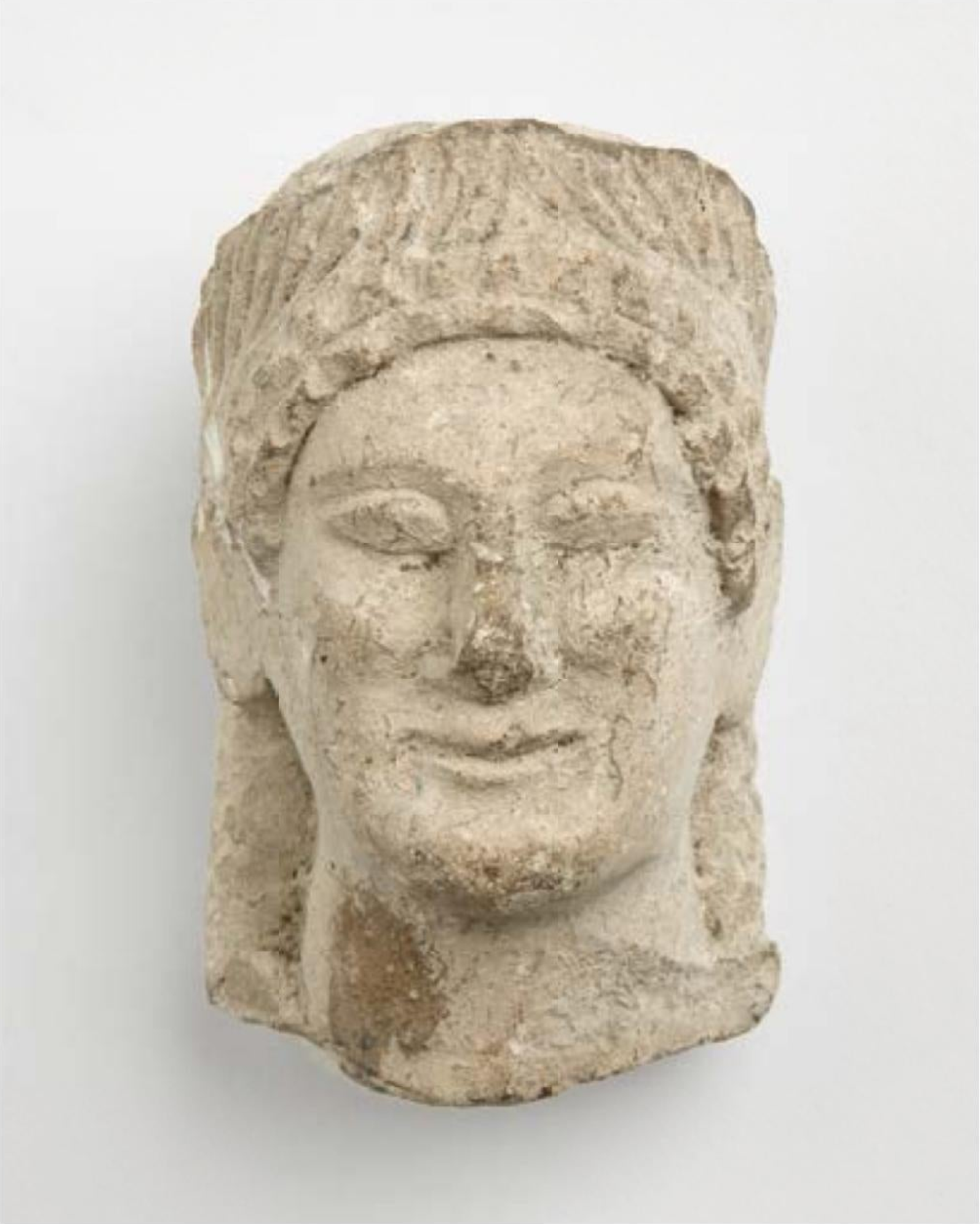
Head of a Woman
Fall 1906

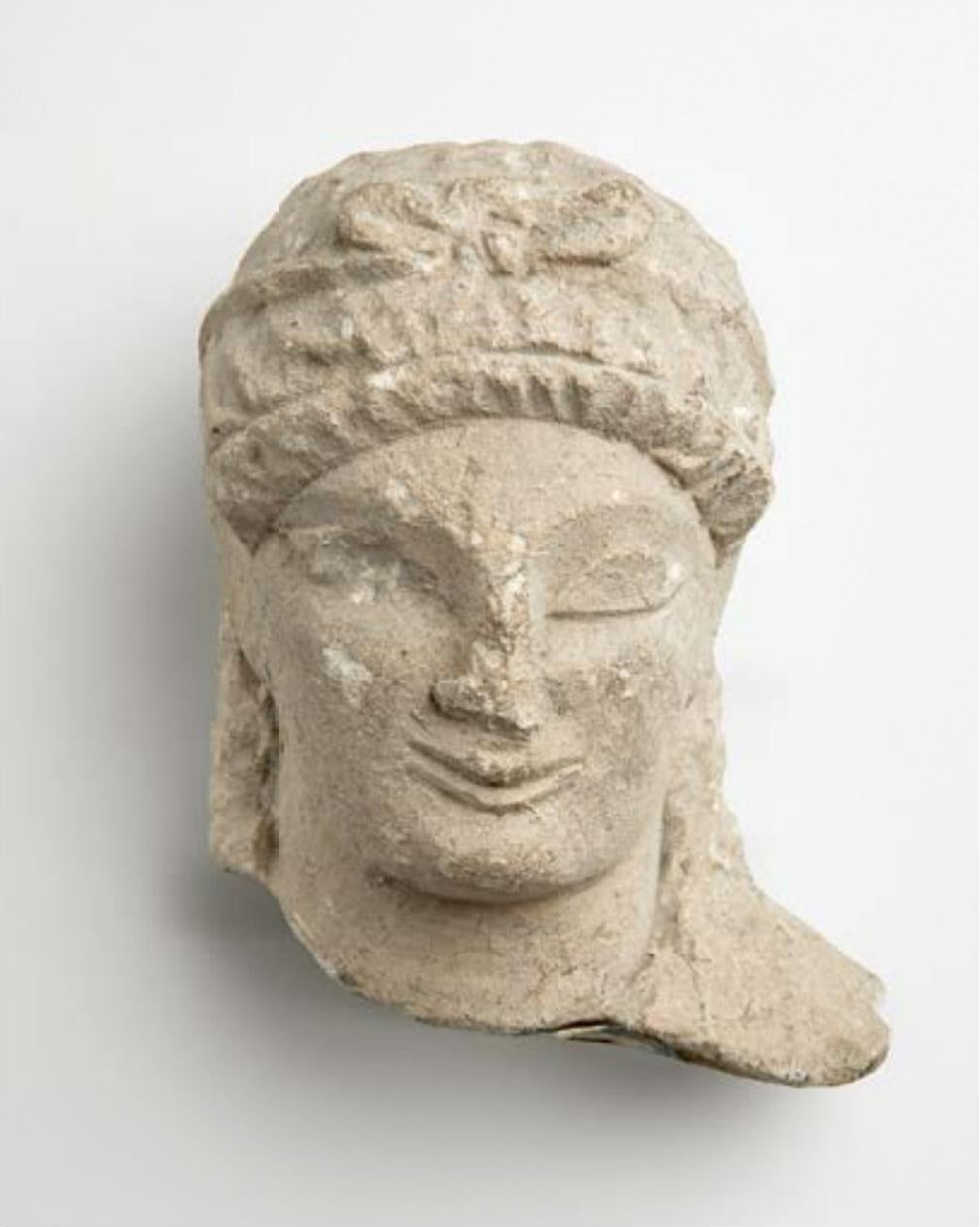


Unknown Author

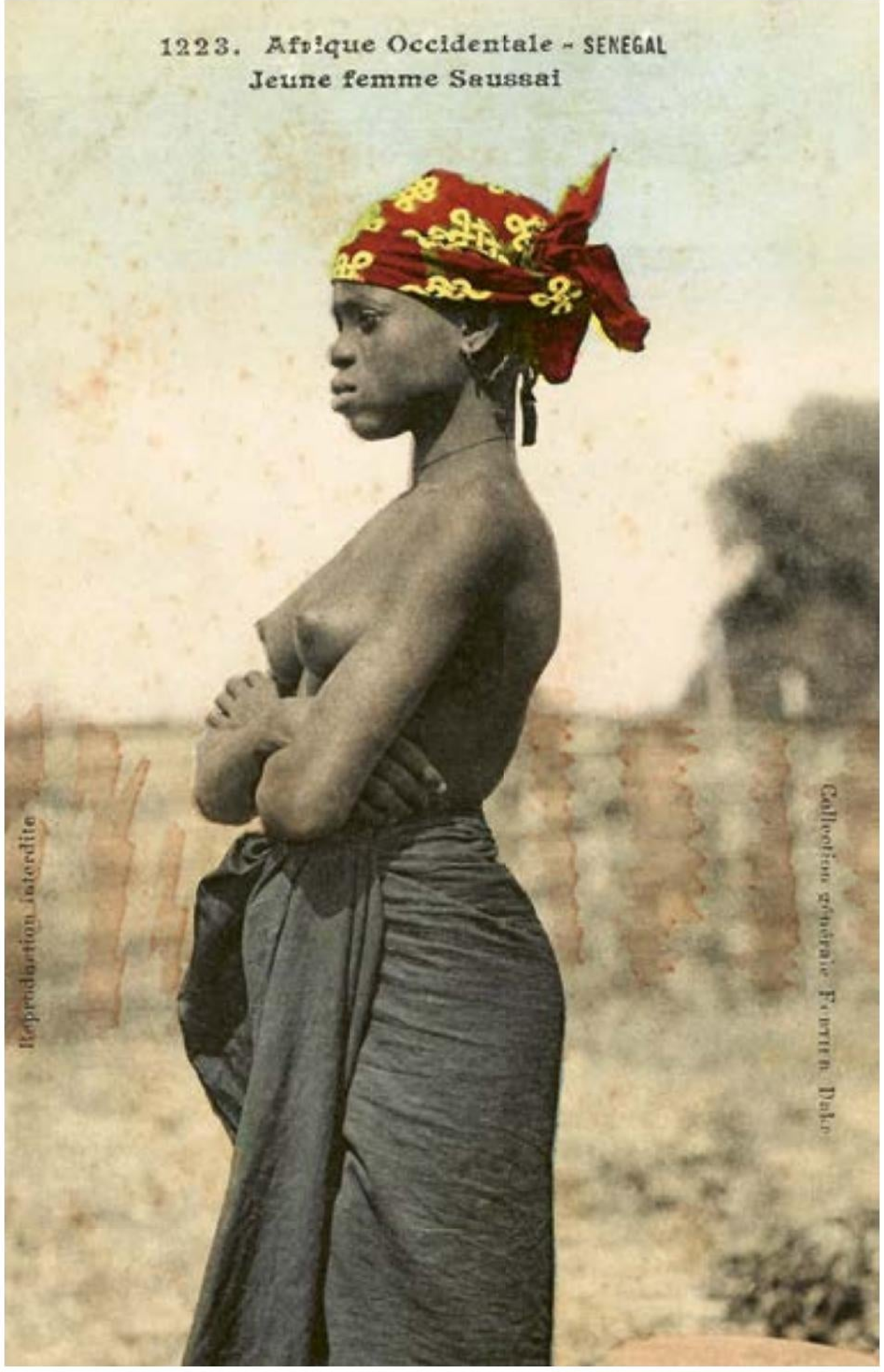
Heads

5th century BCE

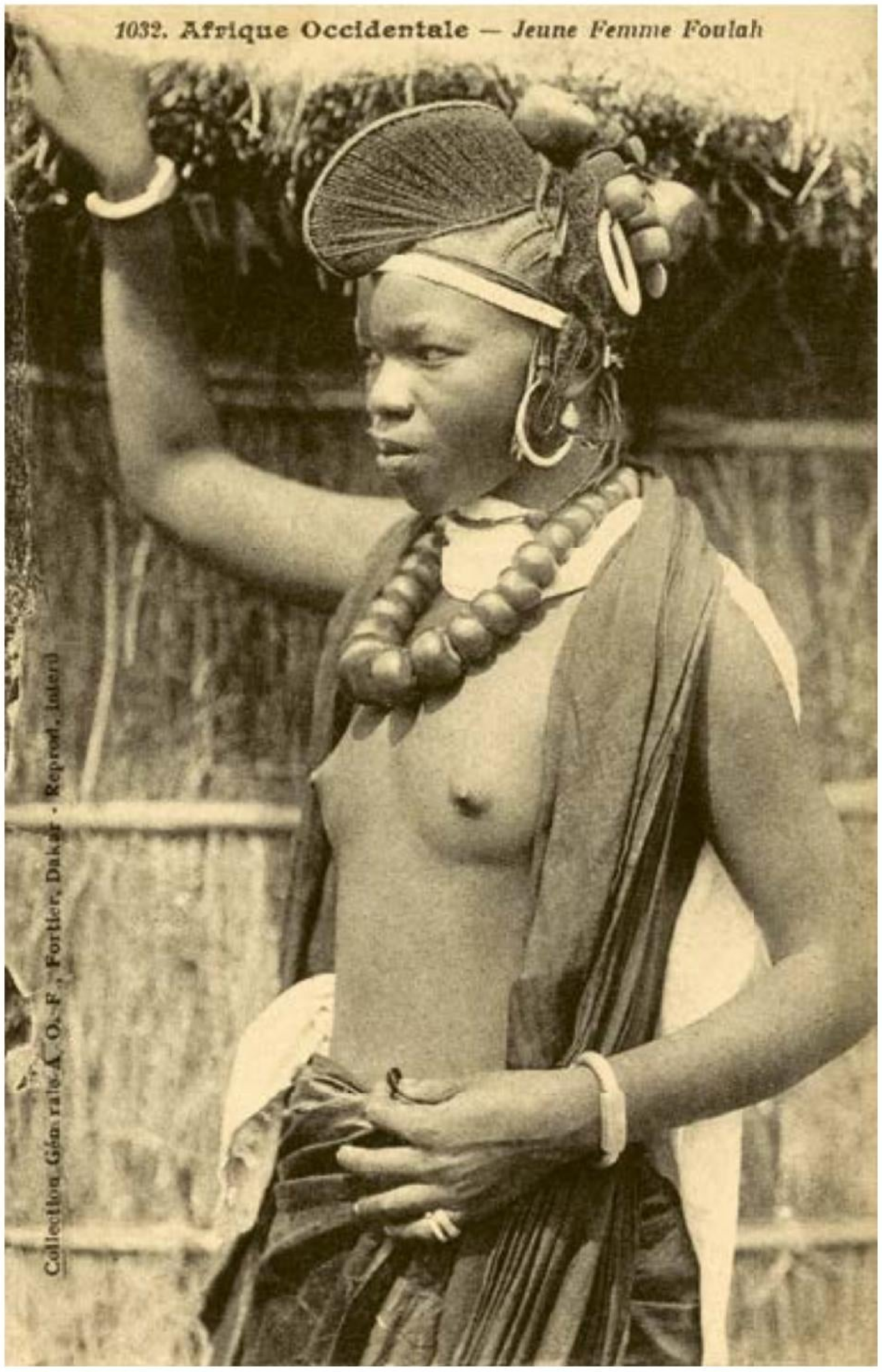




François-Edmond Fortier
**Postcard from the
Afrique Occidentale series**
1st third of the 20th century

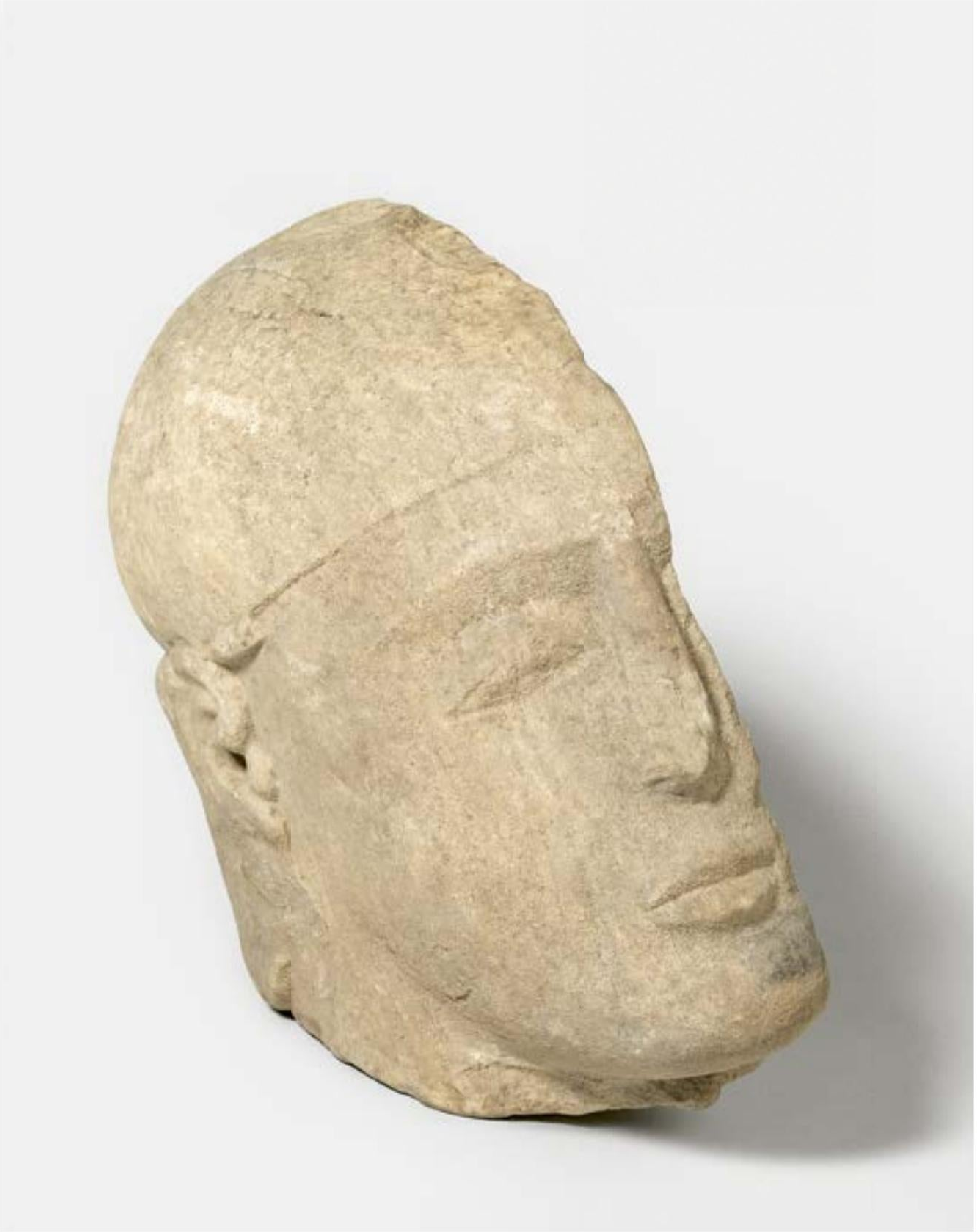

1223. Afrique Occidentale - SENEGAL
Jeune femme Saussai
Reproduction interdite
Collection générale Fortier, Dakar

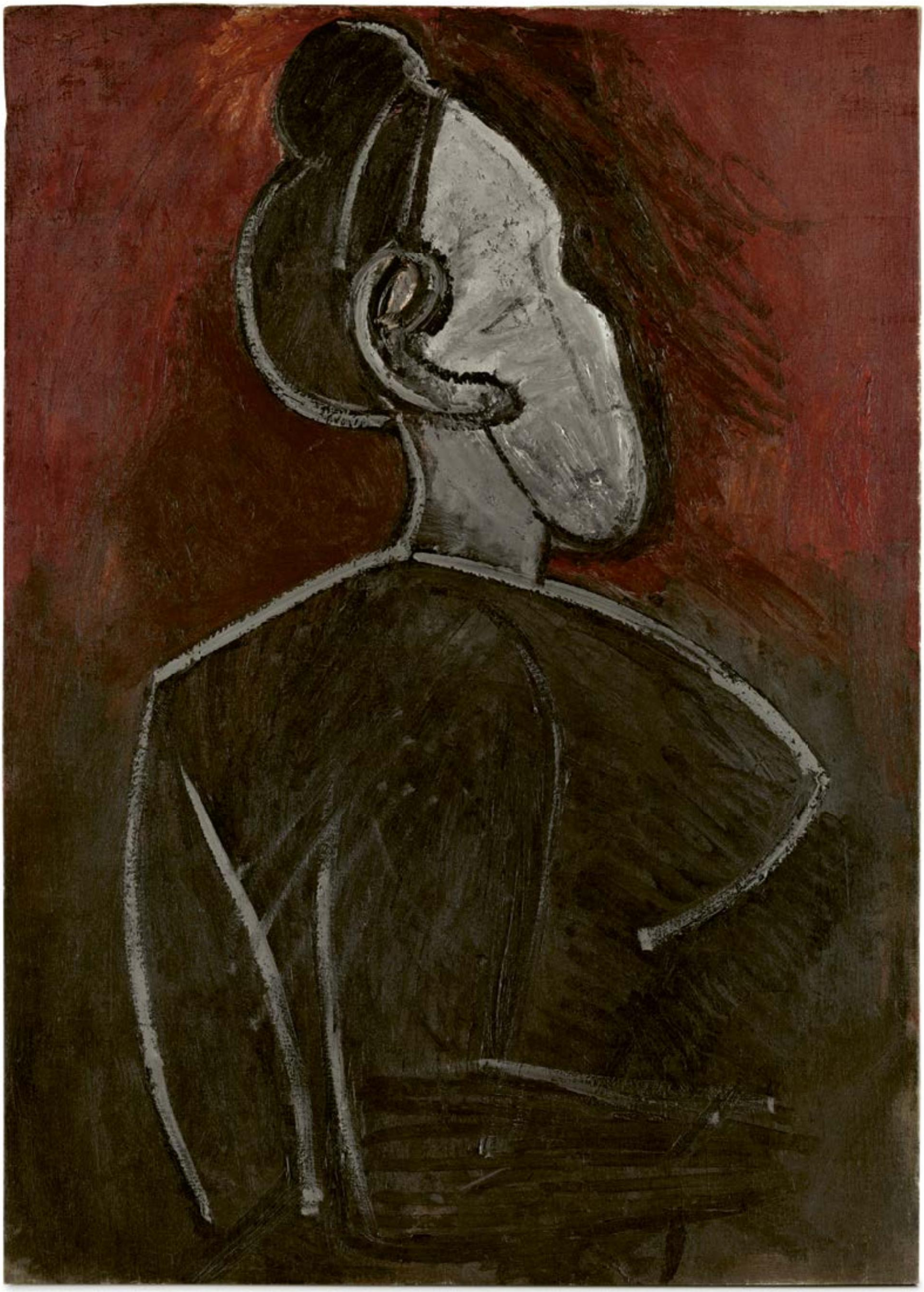
François-Edmond Fortier
**Postcard from the
Afrique Occidentale series**
ca. 1900


1032. Afrique Occidentale — Jeune Femme Foulah
Collection Générale A. O. F., Fortier, Dakar - Reprod. interd.

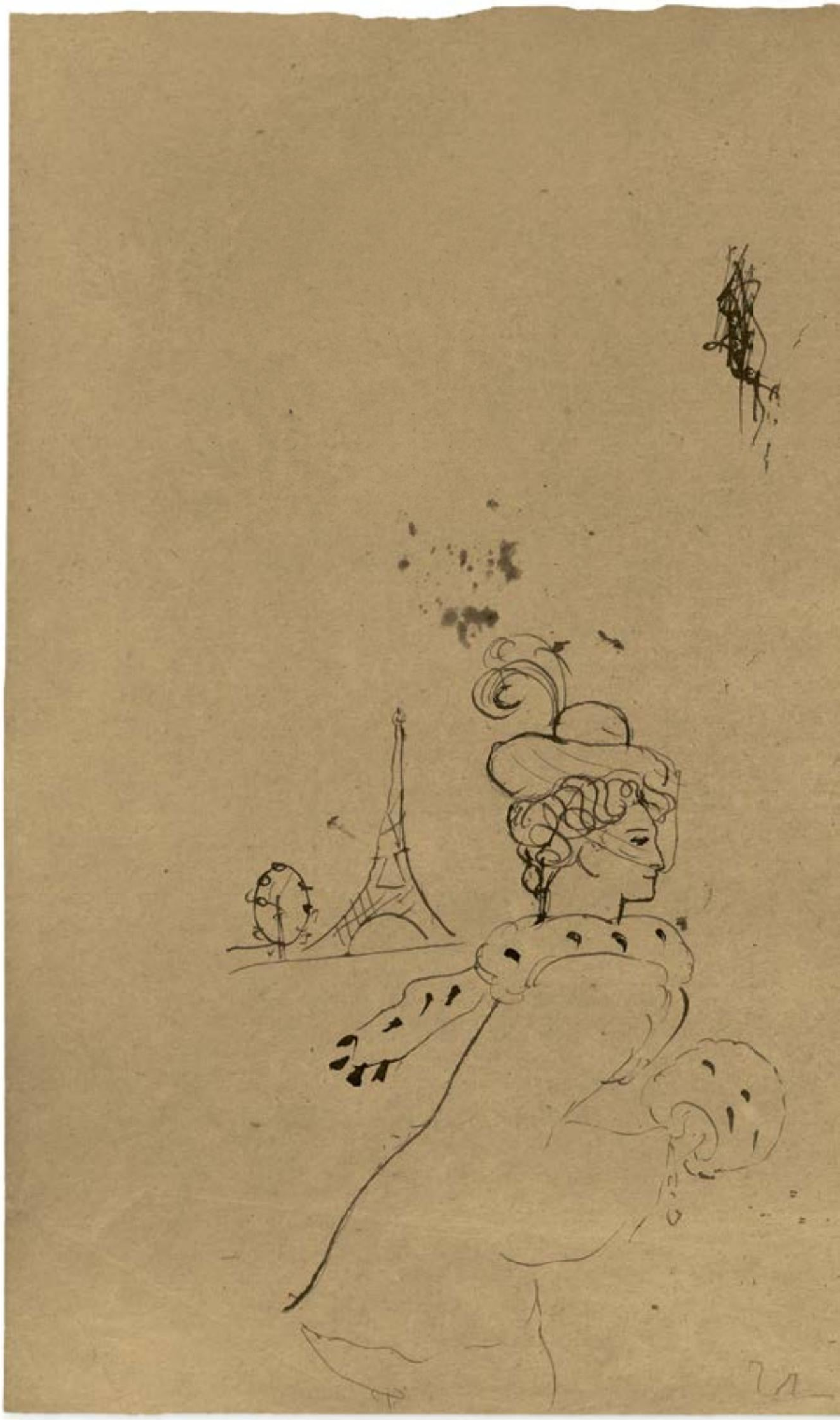
Unknown Author
Head
4th–3rd century BCE

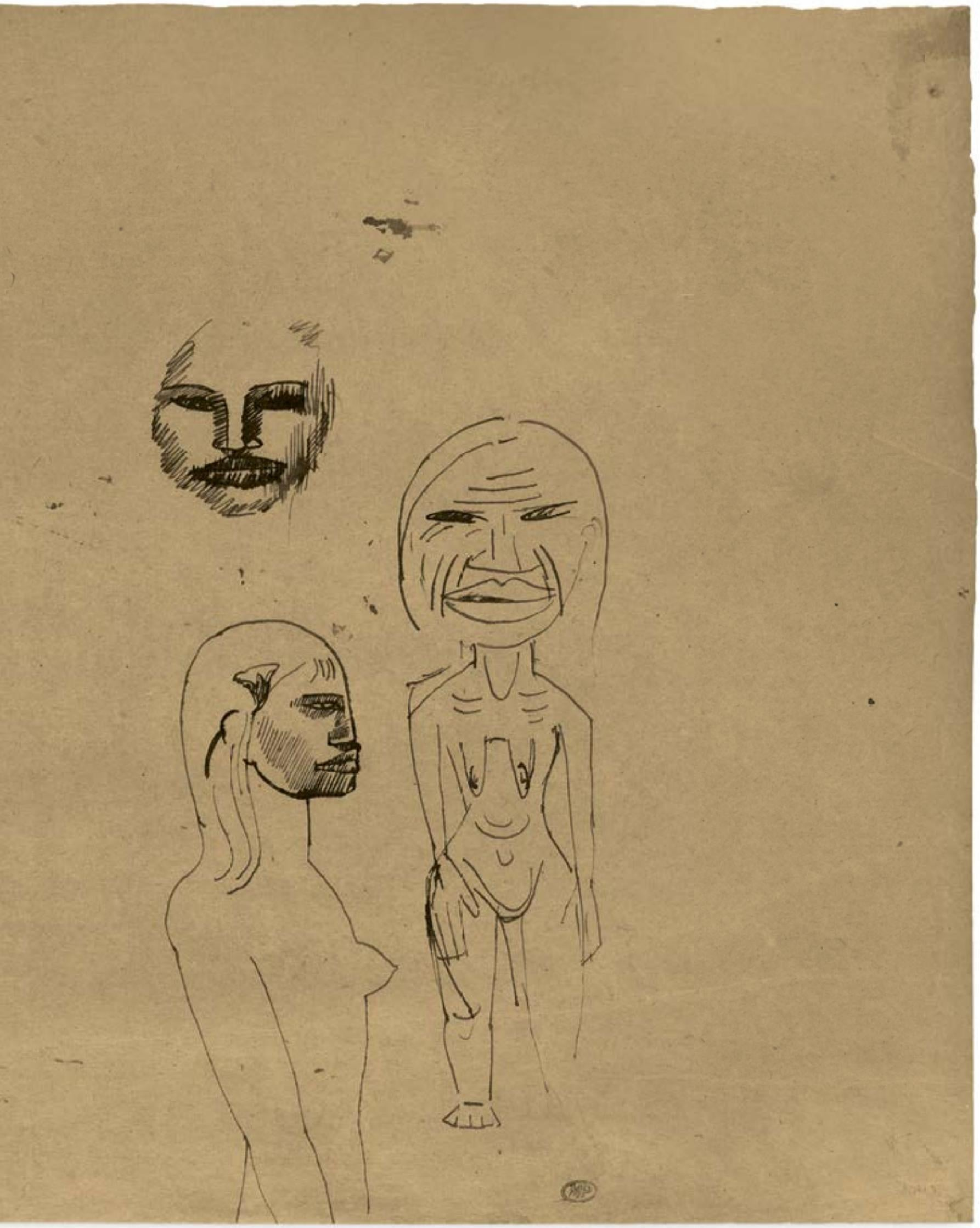
Femme nue de trois-quarts dos
(Nude Woman, Three-Quarter Back View)
1907





La Parisienne et figures exotiques
(The Parisienne and Exotic Figures)
Fall 1906





Transformations

7

The great transformation that Picasso's work underwent as he sought out his first definition of modern art began in early 1906, deepened in Gósol (in a number of registers and in various directions), and fully blossomed upon his return to Paris, lasting into the early months of 1907.

The entire *Picasso 1906* show is focused on underscoring this process. But in this section, several essential ideas come together that, in the end, may be interrelated. The presence of "primitive art," which has already been commented on, is especially important here. Again, except in the case of the Virgin of Gósol, we are presenting pieces that are comparable to those that could have influenced Picasso's imaginary.

Nude with Joined Hands is the start of a different path toward modern art. A path that reaches its conclusion in the sculpture *Petite figure* (*Fetiche*) and that is distinct from the one that leads to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Picasso began the painting in Gósol. We cannot dismiss the possibility that he continued this work in Paris, although it would remain under the sign of the *non finito*. *Petite figure* is related to Seurat's and Matisse's *poseuses*, but Picasso sidesteps a commitment to the model's contemporary context and instead situates his artistic proposal outside of any specific location in space or time, prioritizing the relationship with the primeval. This is a chaste figure and focuses on the notion of the body as form. Picasso sought in certain areas to integrate background and figure. In doing so, he changed the concept of representation—and therefore the concept of the painting inherited from the Renaissance—and foreshadowed Cubism. At the same time, under the influence of Cézanne, he structured the figure by joining together a number of basic geometric shapes. *Nude with Joined Hands* has been tied to Ingres, to Greek pottery painting, and to Roman art, the figure's face viewed as archaizing and orientalizing. But the work's relationship with Iberian art seems clear, via the *damas oferentes*—women bearing offerings—of the Cerro de los Santos, while the abstraction of Fang masks may also be present in the condensation of the facial features. Building on this artistic idea, Picasso worked within an anthropometric system marked by gender fluidity in which he would establish his new figurative system. At the same time, he developed an alternative figurative proposal: based on similarities with Senufo sculpture and veiled references to Dürer, he would produce key drawings collected in the so-called *Carnet 7*. It is highly significant that Gertrude Stein always kept *Nude with Joined Hands* with her and gave it a reverential place among her art collection in a number of her homes.

The creative process behind the portrait *Gertrude Stein* has given rise to narratives that have become legendary. The writer herself commented on the numerous sessions involved in the creation of the work, and we know the three phases over which the process unfolded. Picasso began the work, a conventional portrait, in spring of 1906; he abandoned it upon leaving for Gósol; and he picked it back up when he returned to Paris, incorporating the mask-like face element. This represented a qualitative leap in the history of art. The painting, in a single frame and on a single surface, combined two distinct stylistic registers. One was that of the language of largely conventional fin de siècle painting, and the other was the "primitivist" language of the mask-like face, at variance with the canvas as a whole. This was the phenomenon of hybridization that would give rise to modern art, conceptually foreshadowing the rupture of the unity of the painting in the fine arts system brought about by verbal-visual art and collage. The Stein mask-like face was, moreover, similar to the one found in Picasso's contemporaneous self-portraits. This suggests several things. First, the full-fledged identificatory drive between the two, which existed not only on an intellectual and affective plane. Picasso began an entire series of works modeled on a female figure—which could well have been based on Gertrude's physical features—that were an alternative to inherited prototypes of female beauty. Second, the affinity created between their features though a similar mask-like face confirms Picasso's search for—and discovery of—a universal language through the koine of "the primitive" that will be expressed as an ideogram in the drawings contained in *Carnet 5.* In any case, the concept of the mask is present in *art nègre* and is not—or not as much—in Iberian art, which may imply that Picasso reflected on incorporating this artistic influence while in Gósol or, at the latest, in late summer upon returning to Paris. The presence in this section of works from early 1907 again suggests the echoes, twists, and turns in the ideas Picasso put forth in 1906.

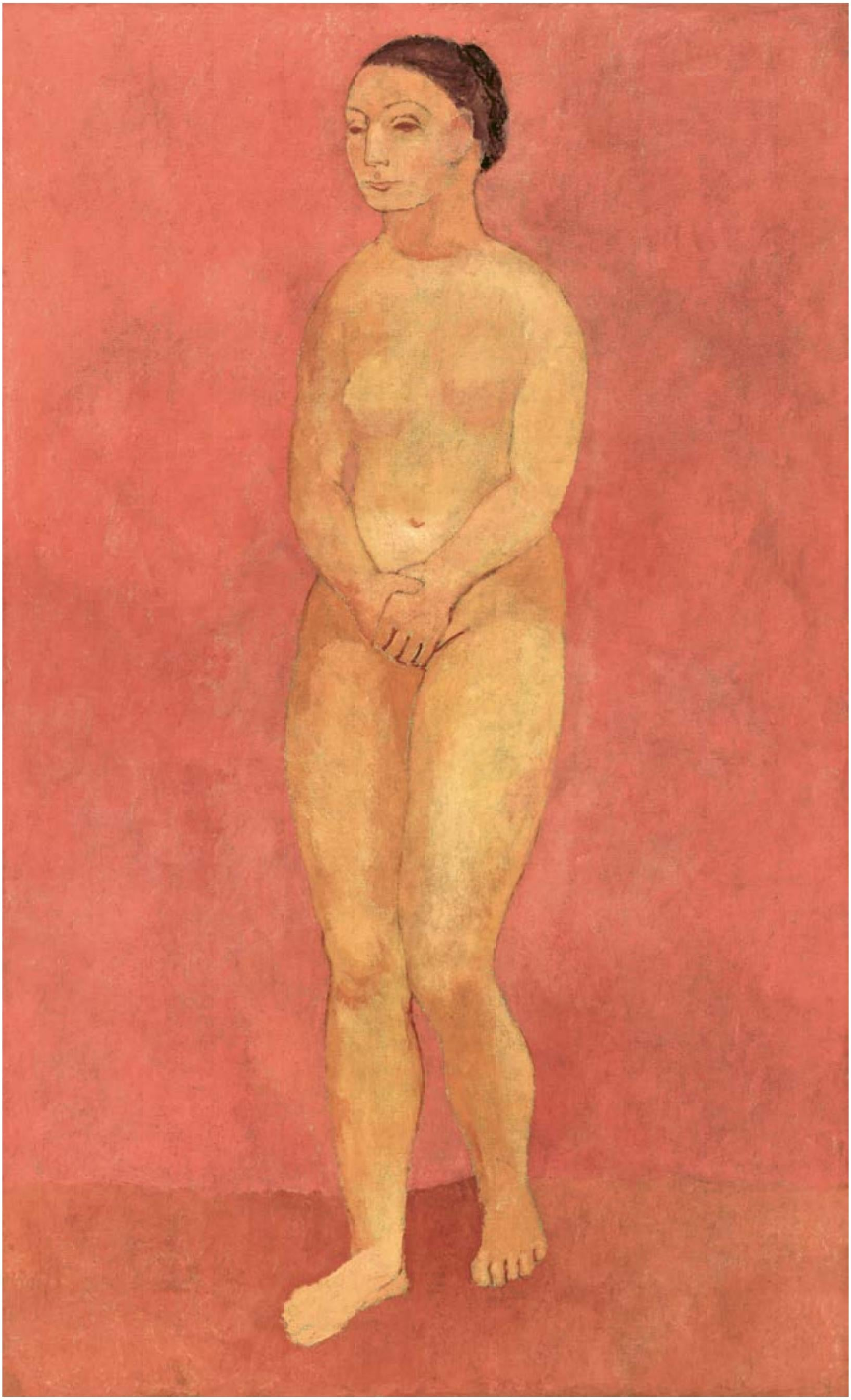
Picasso's *Self-Portrait* similarly incorporates "primitive art" in complex ways. Romanesque art, Iberian art, Egyptian art, and Mesopotamian art all come together, marked by the influence of *art nègre*. Picasso developed an opaque "hatching" technique and represented himself nude, confirming the important role the body had in his 1906 work. All of this taken together leads Picasso to create presentative icons that are, for him, "interceding figures," or intercessors between material, psychological, and spiritual reality.

Picasso could only experiment with the visual language of a motif or icon if he had some sort of affective tie to it. This suggests we should reconsider his relationship with the nude and the body—something that we must remember when we look through the numerous, varied works that he dedicated to Josep Fondevila, the innkeeper of Cal Tampanada in Gósol. The fact that he worked with the features of an elderly man is a wonderful counterpoint to his work on young bodies. Picasso, like he did with Fernande, turned Fondevila into a signifier that he provided with a different signified depending on the visual language he was using. The artist used him to challenge perspective through the *profil perdu*. He portrayed him using forms from classicism. He used Fondevila in works in which he drew close to realism and in singular sculptures in which he reflected on a new relationship between matter, mass, and the sensation of volume. In one of his drawings, Picasso identifies Fondevila's mask-like face with Gertrude Stein's and his own. This link allowed the artist to work on the nude and on Fondevila's countenance in search of the encounter between the natural elements of his anatomy and the a priori abstractions of "primitive art." The mark left by Fondevila survived in Picasso's work for a long time, and it tends to be mixed up with the representations of André Salmon. The Fondevila iconotype was one of Picasso's foundational referents in his first definition of modern art.

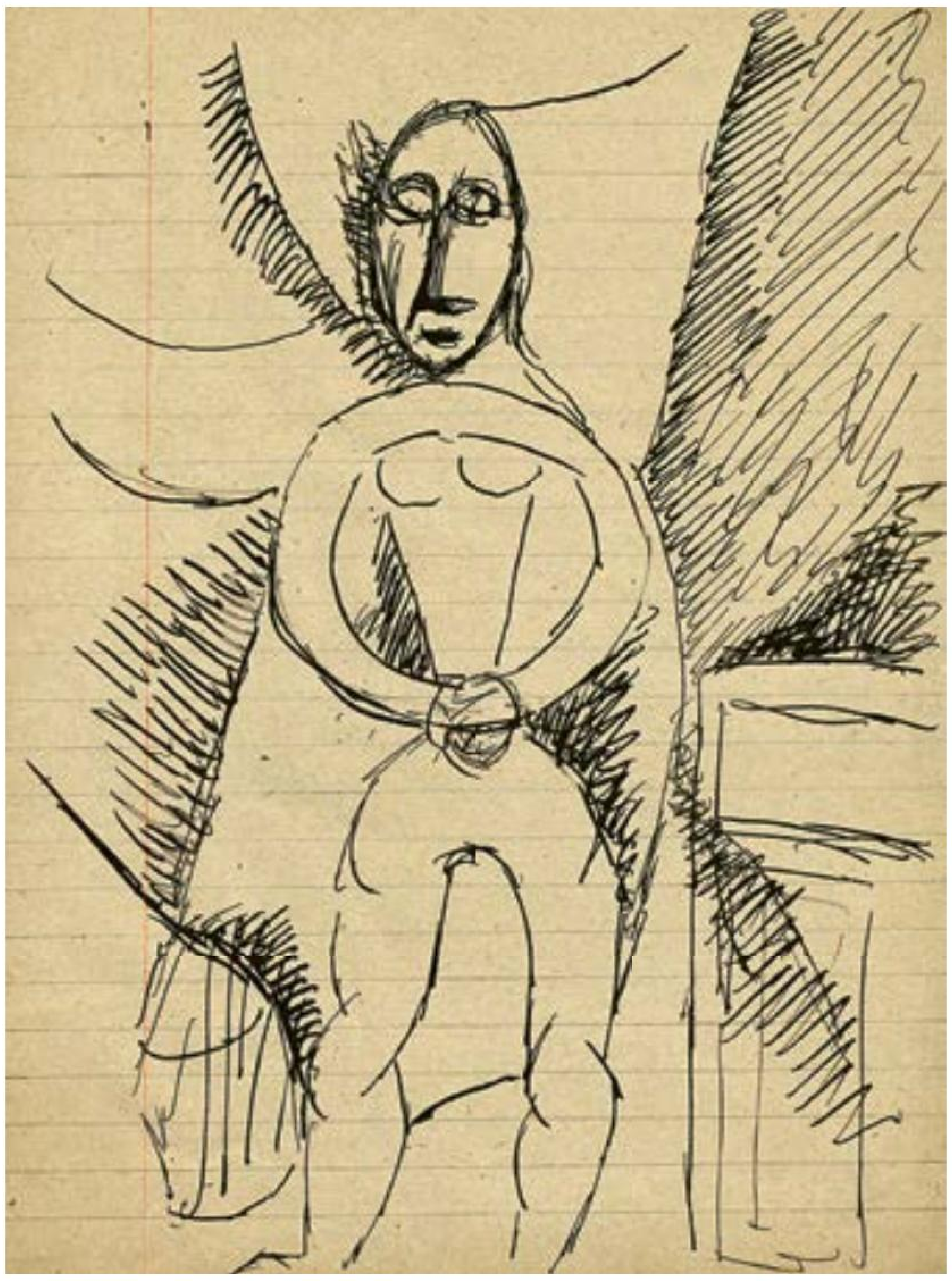
Transformations

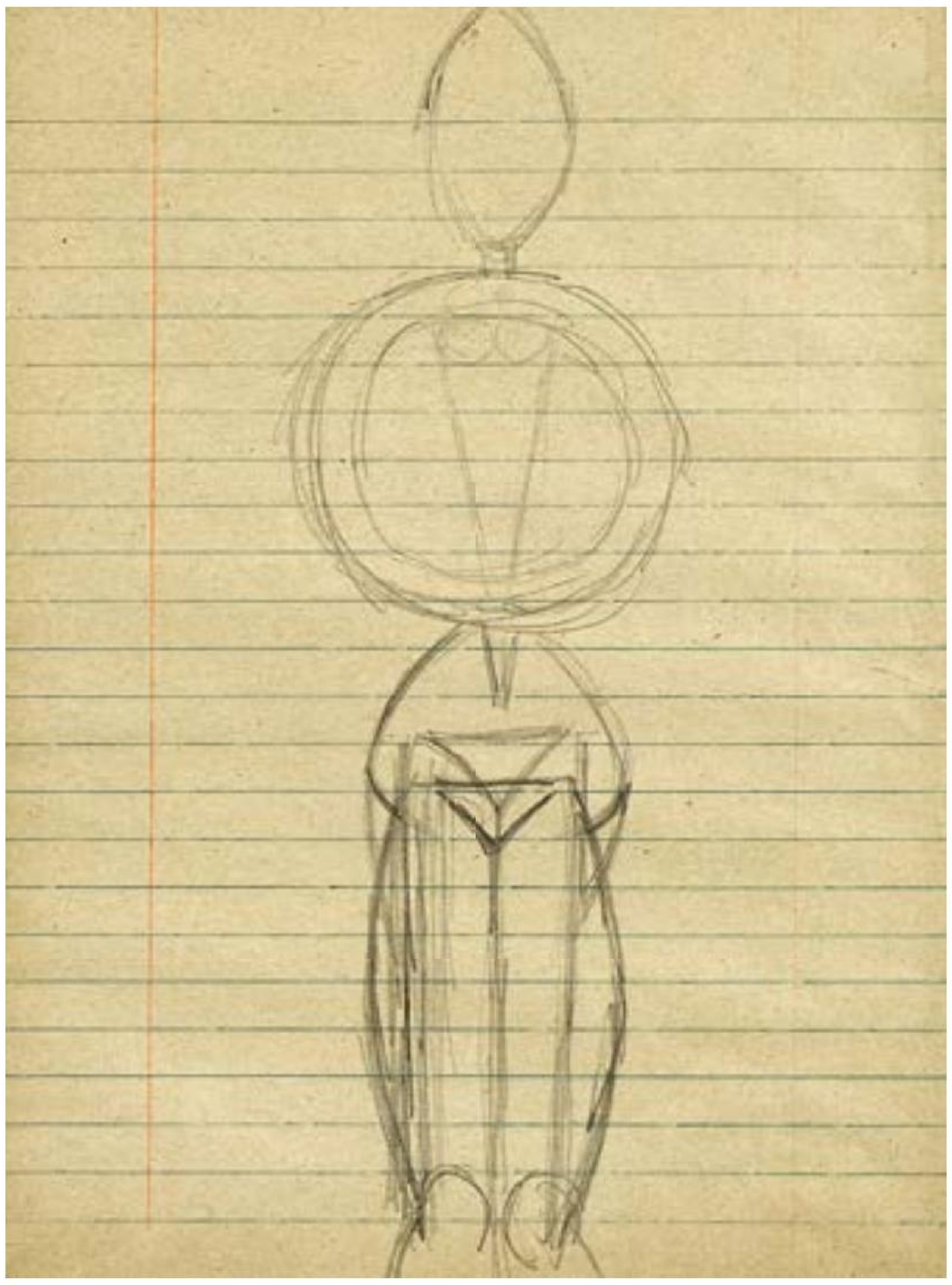
Nude with Joined Hands
An “Other” Path Toward Modern Art

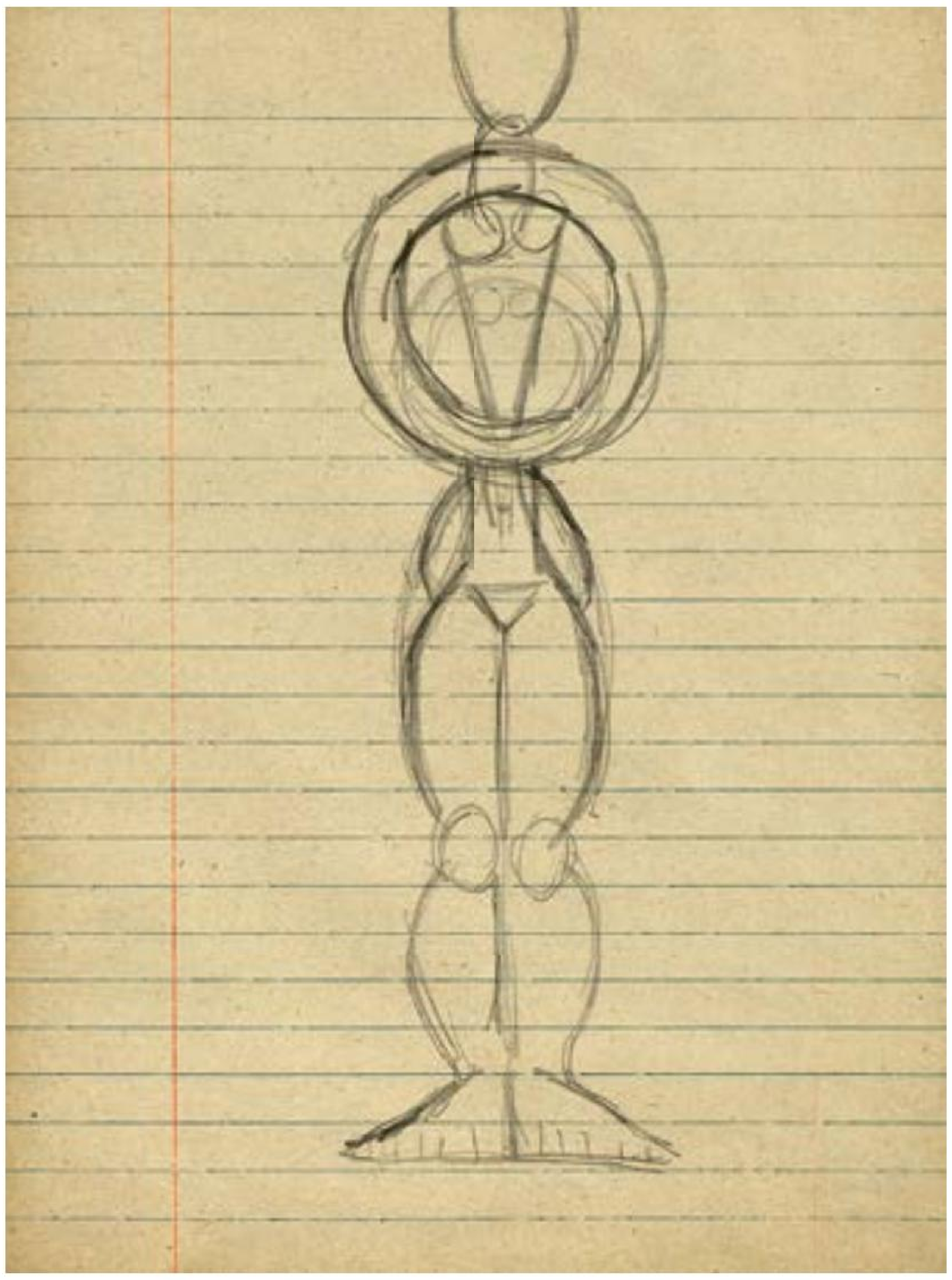
Nude with Joined Hands
1906

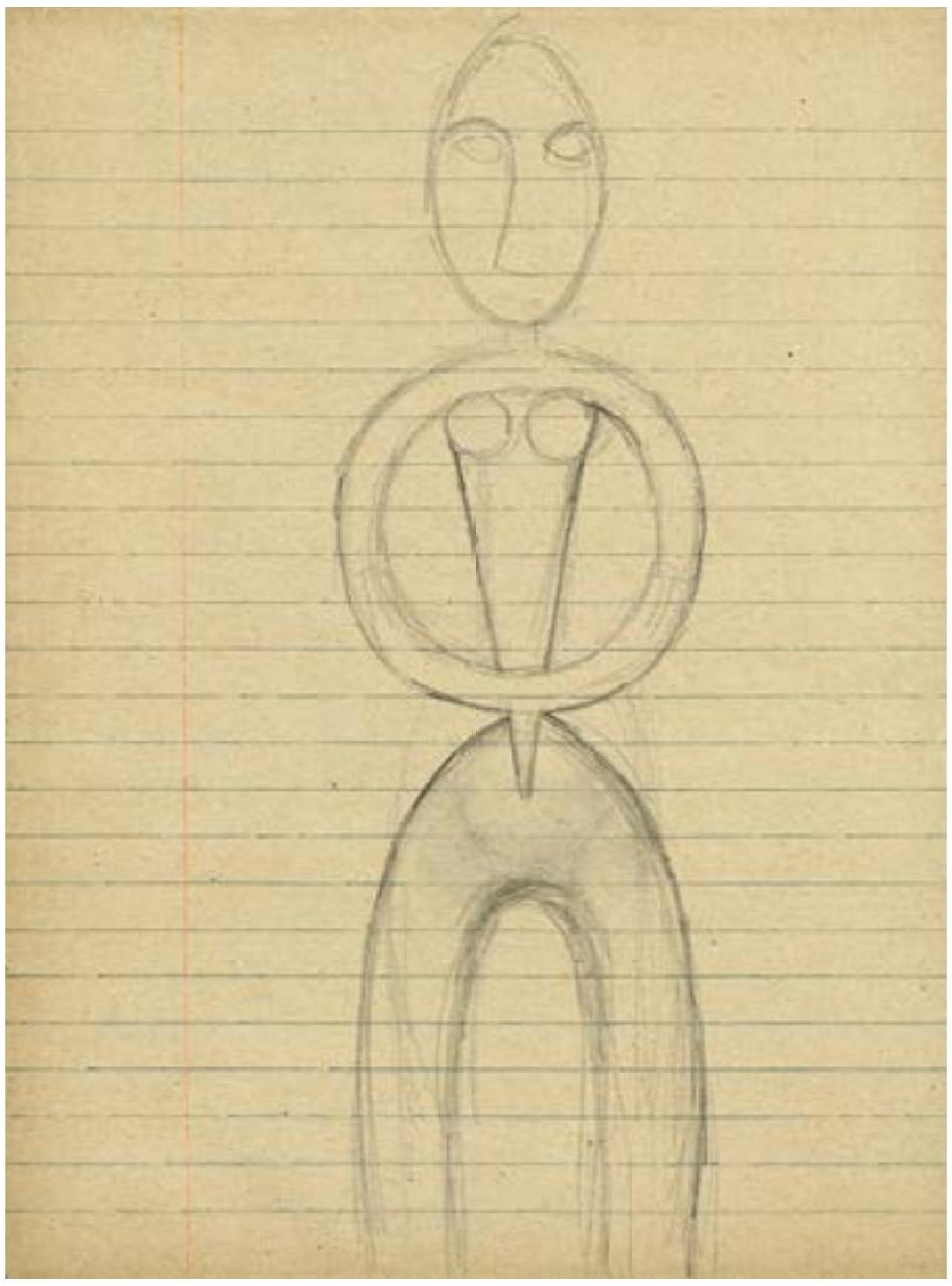


Drawings from Carnet 7 (Les Demoiselles d'Avignon)
May–June 1907

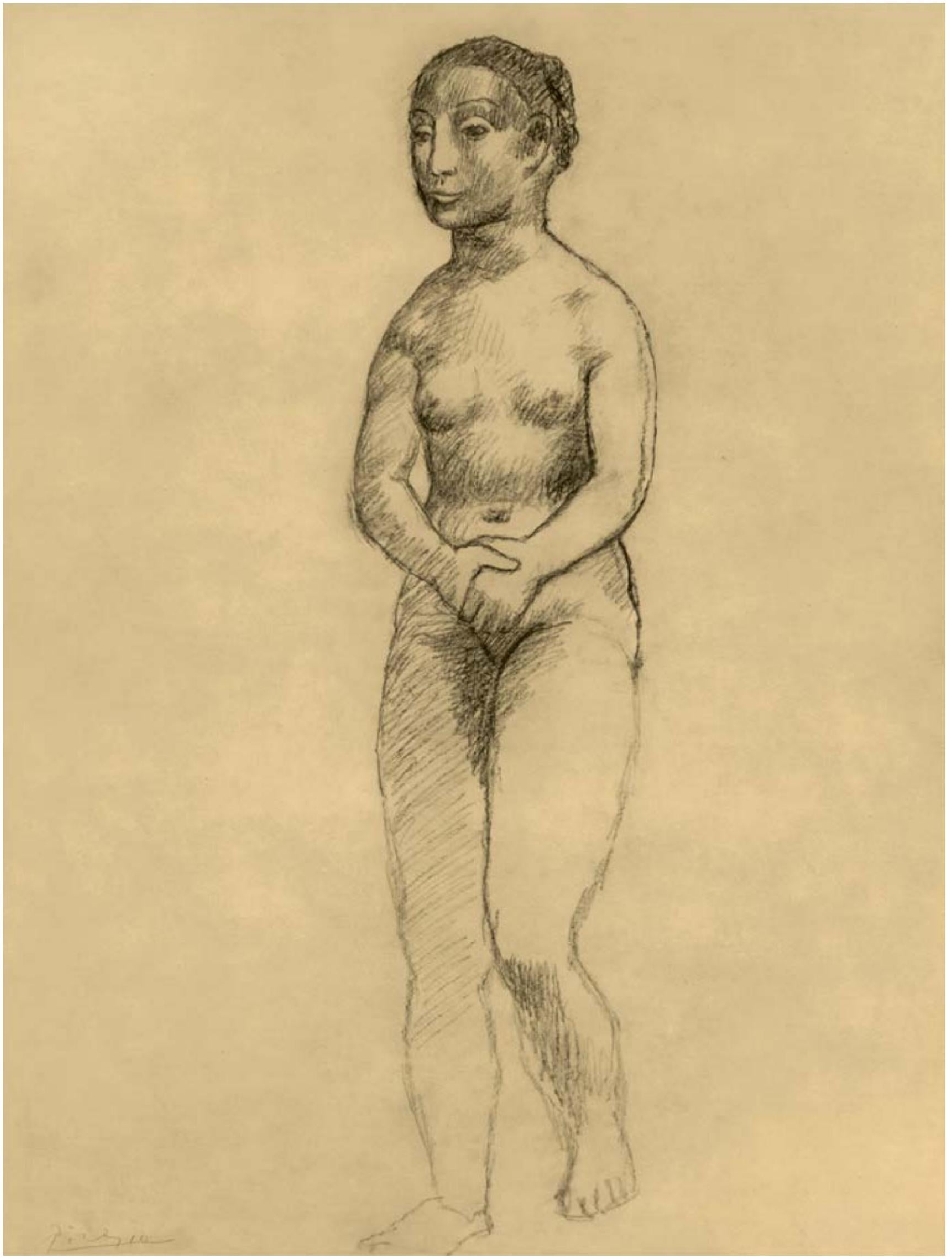




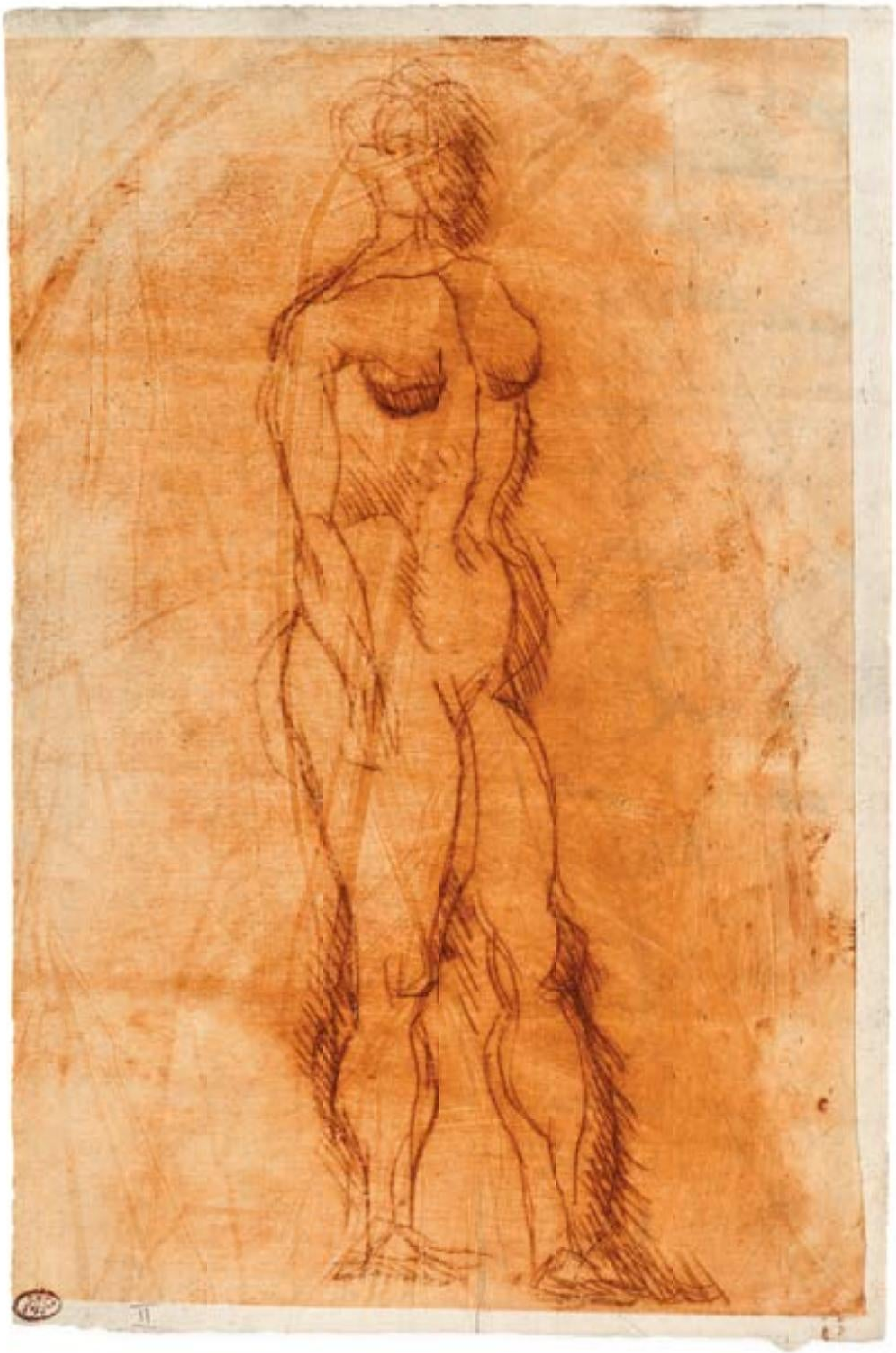




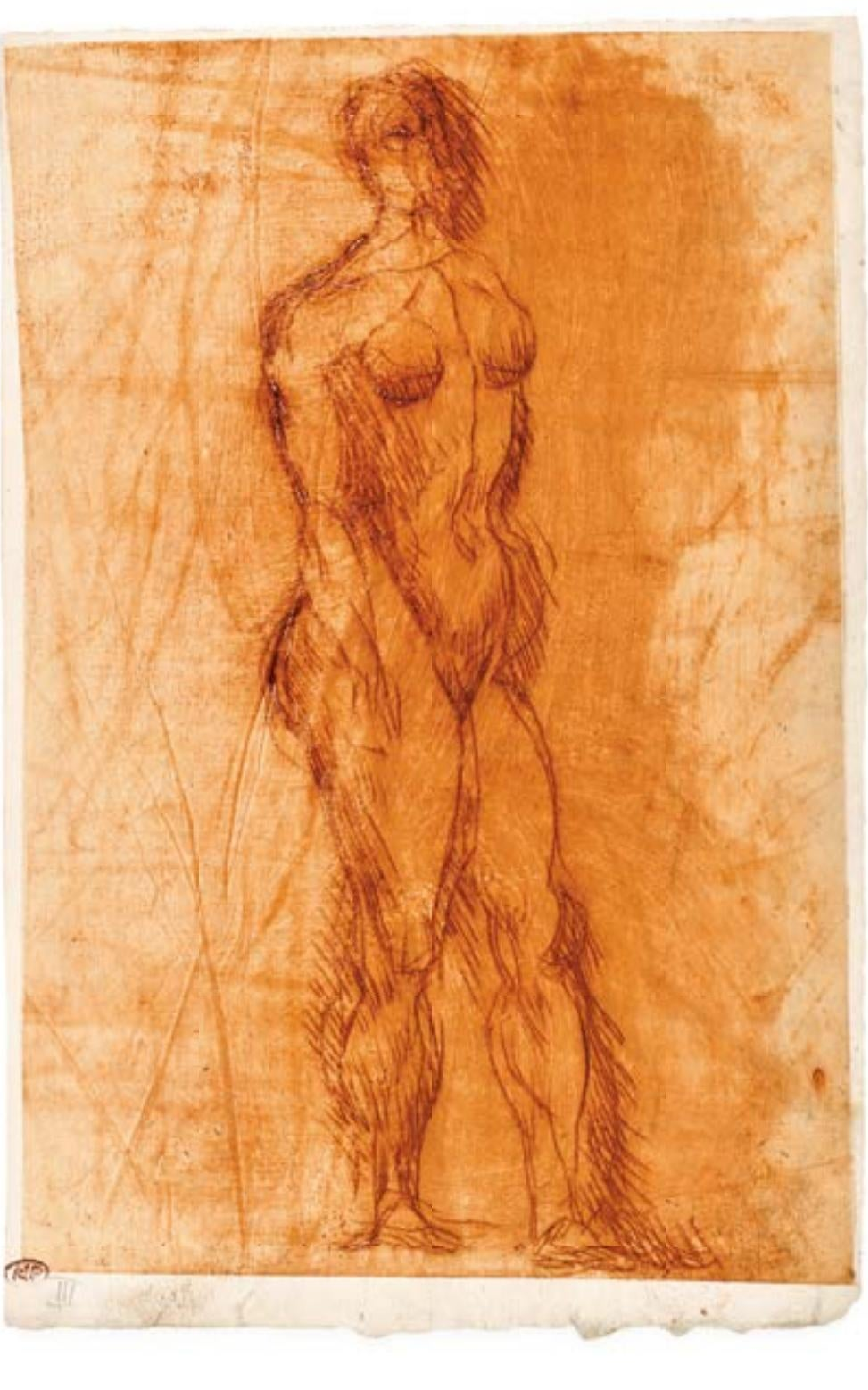
Nu debout (Study for “Nude with Clasped Hands”)
(Standing Nude)
1906



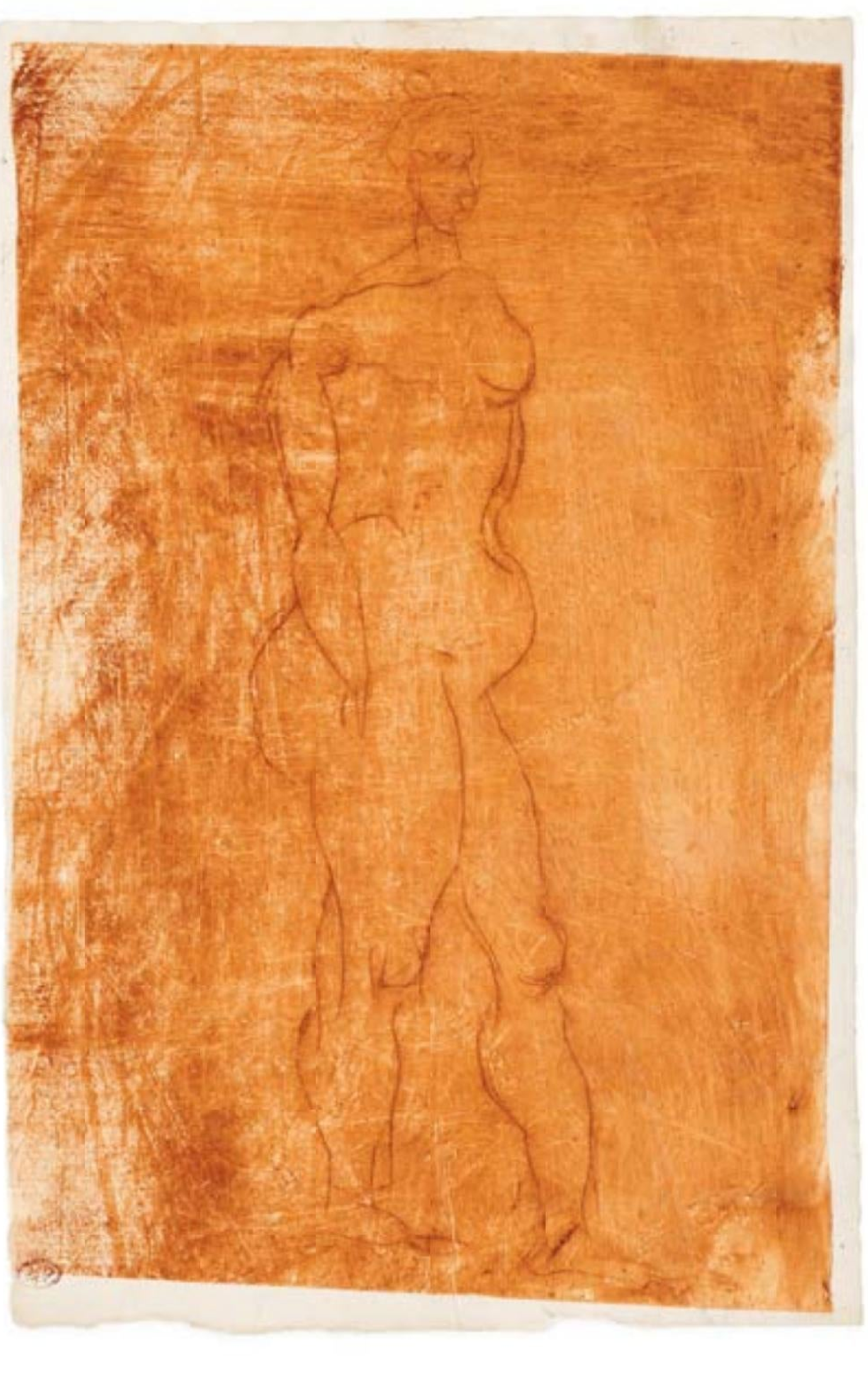
Nu debout I
(Standing Nude I)
1906–07



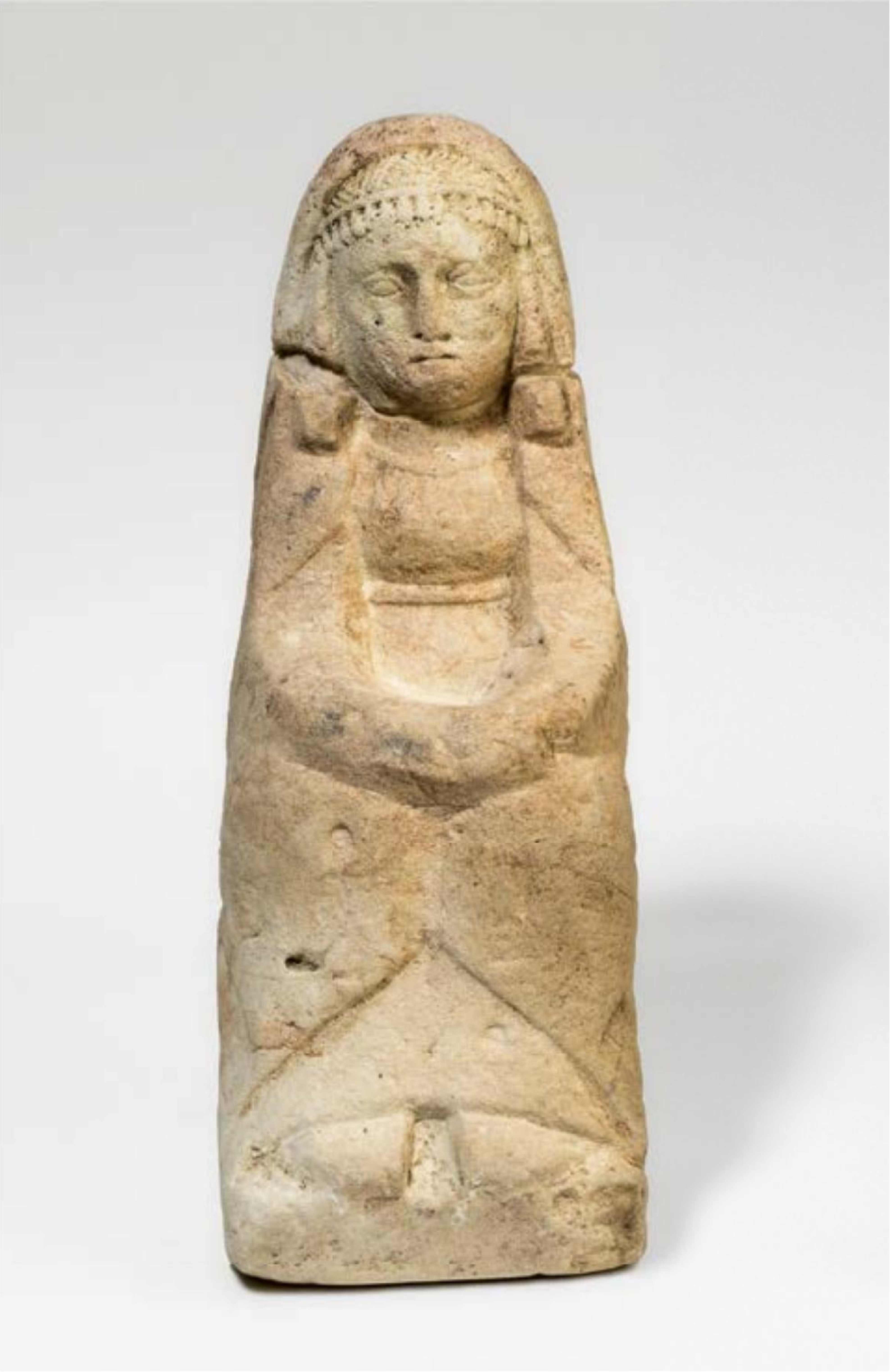
Nu debout I
(Standing Nude I)
Winter 1906–07

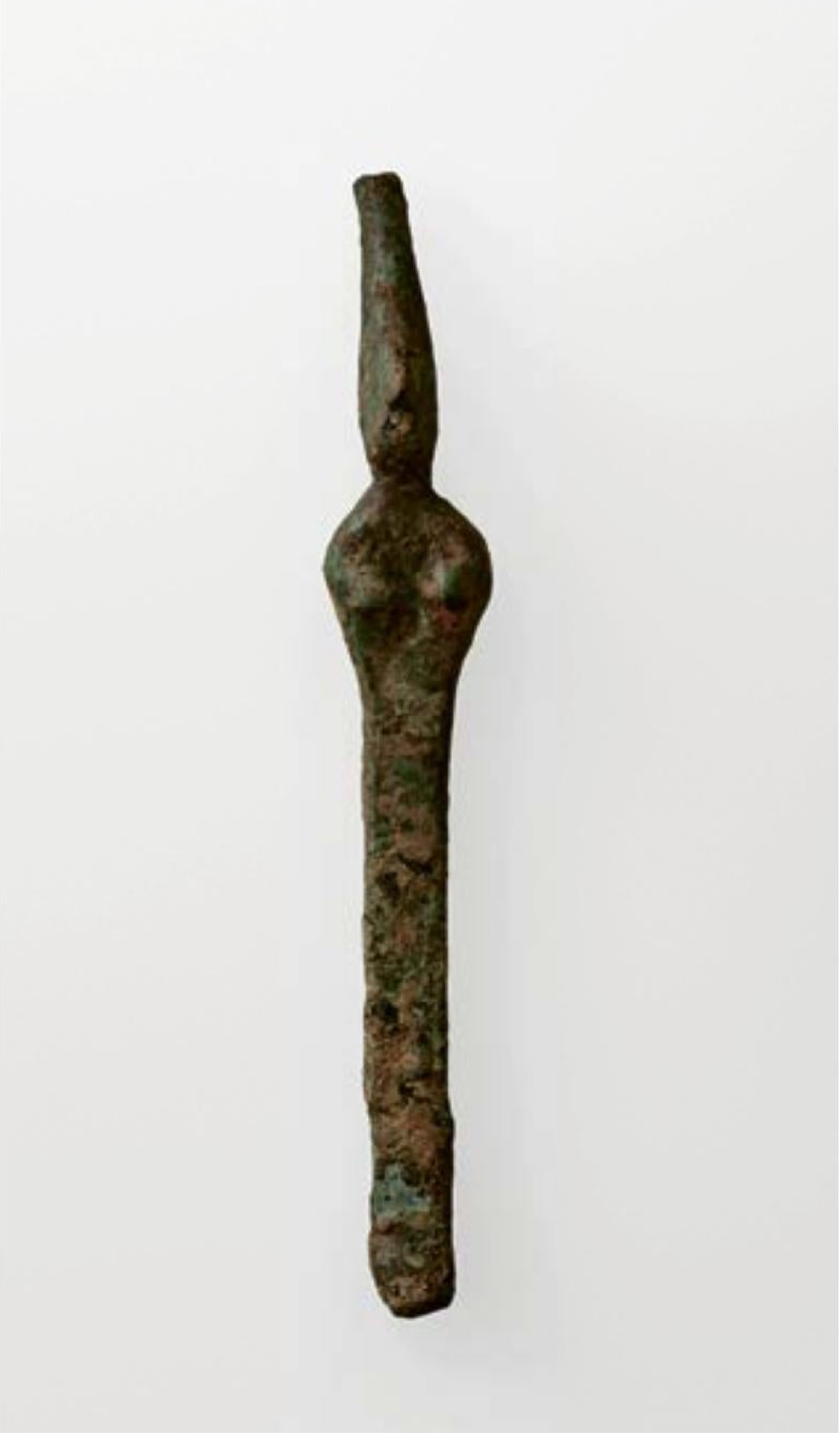


Nu debout I
(Standing Nude I)
Winter 1906–07



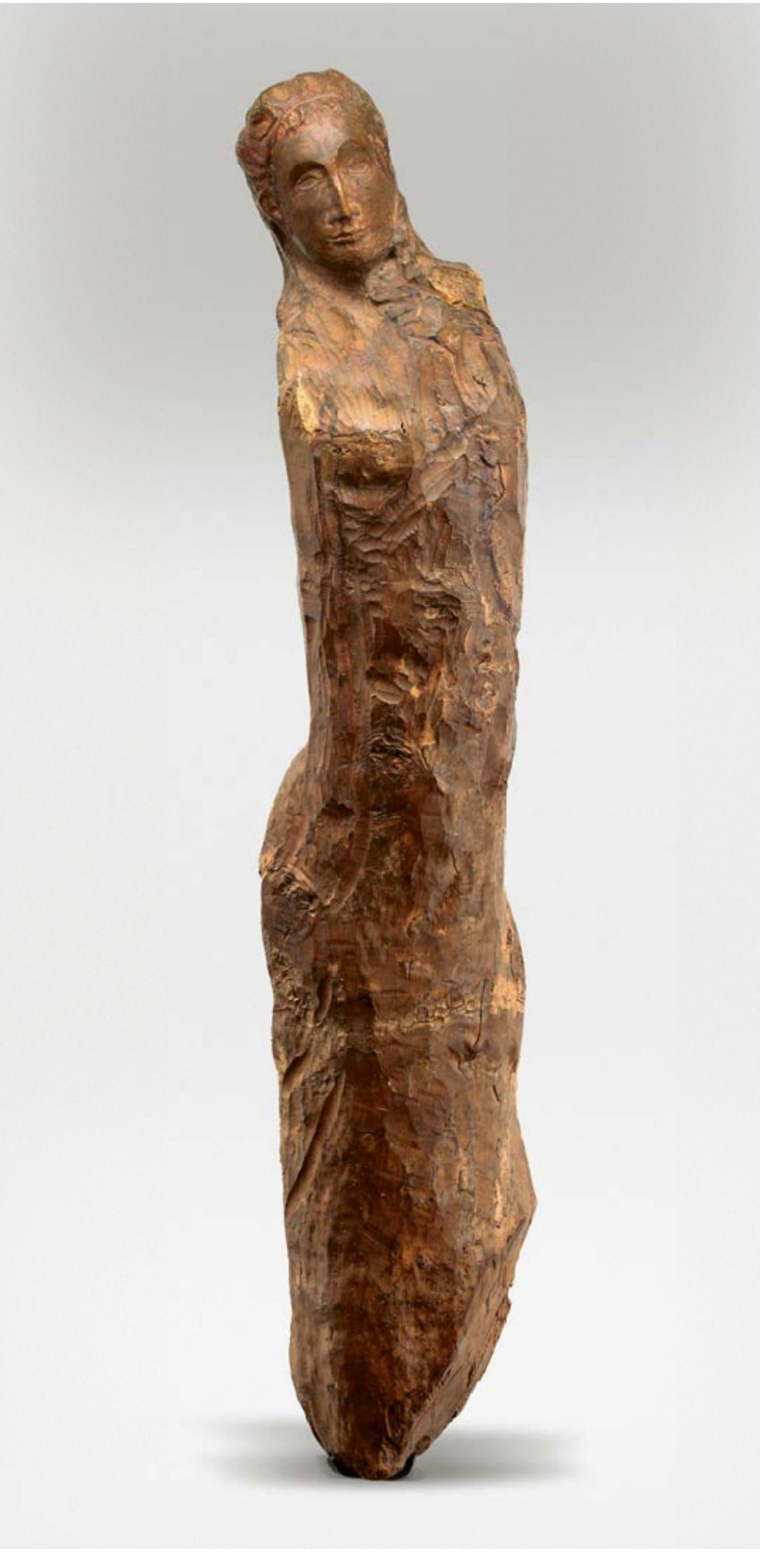
Unknown Author
Sitting lady
4th–3rd century BCE



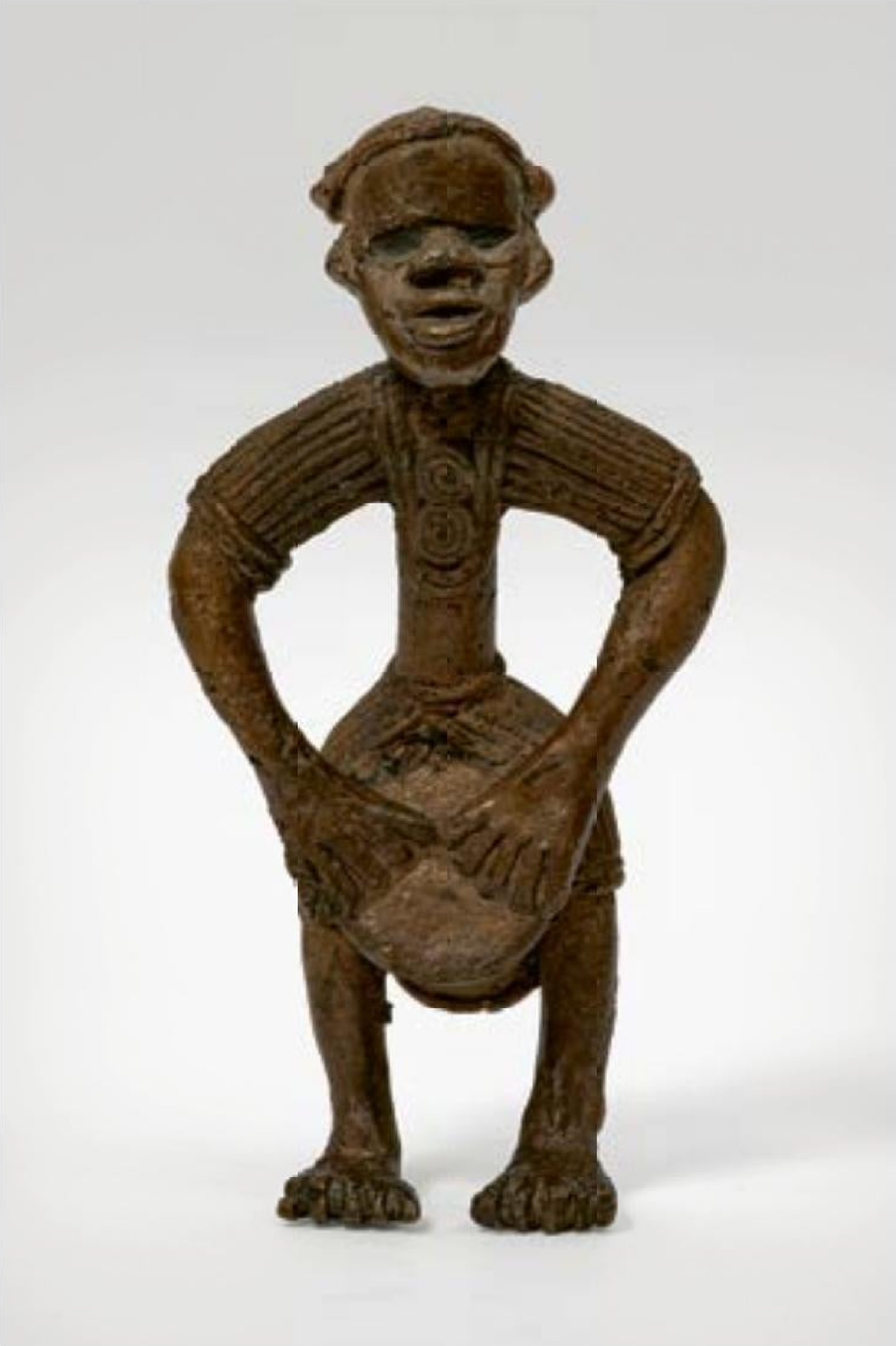


Unknown Author
Orant
n.d.

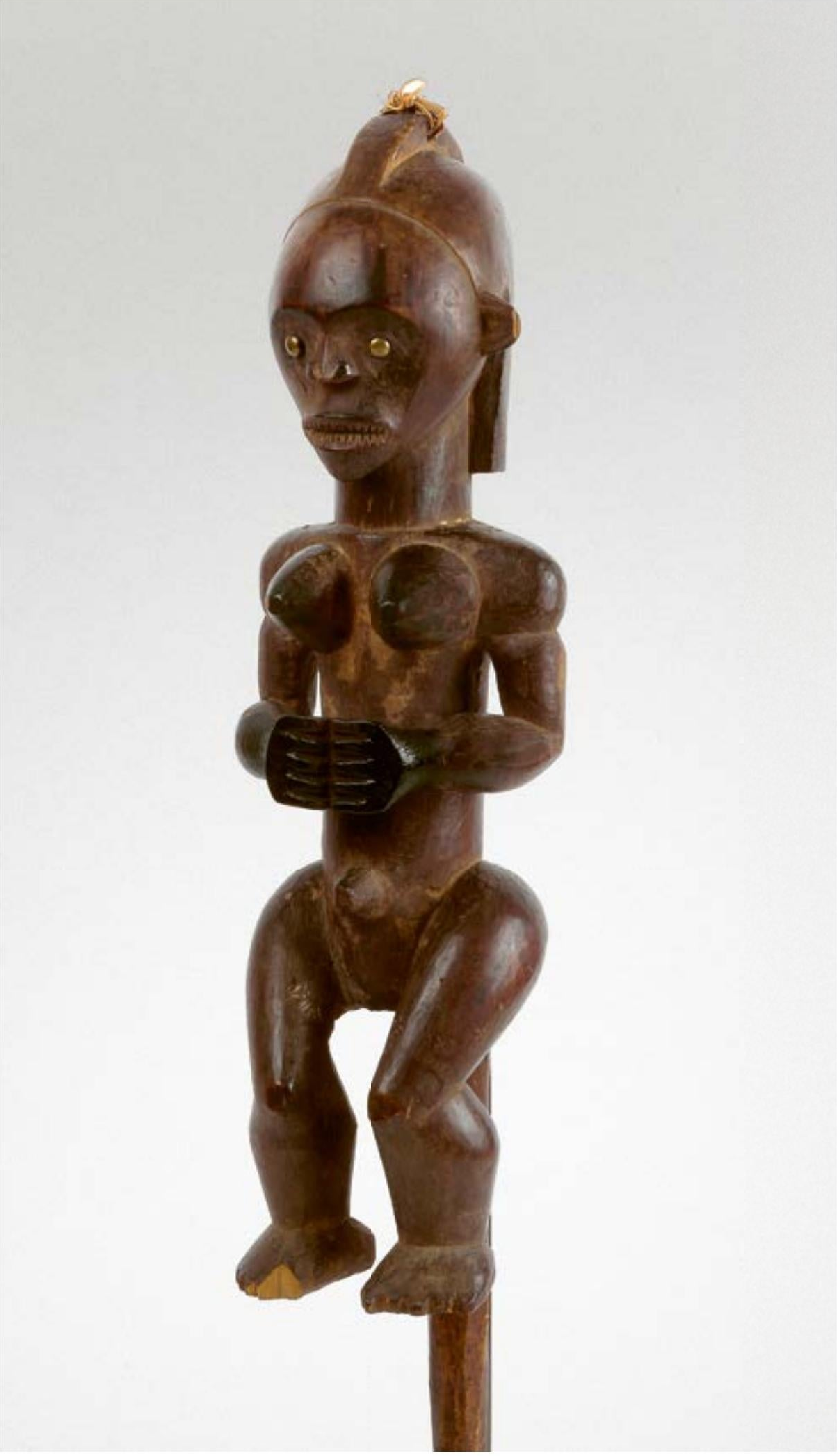
Buste de femme (Fernande)
(Bust of a Woman [Fernande])
Summer 1906



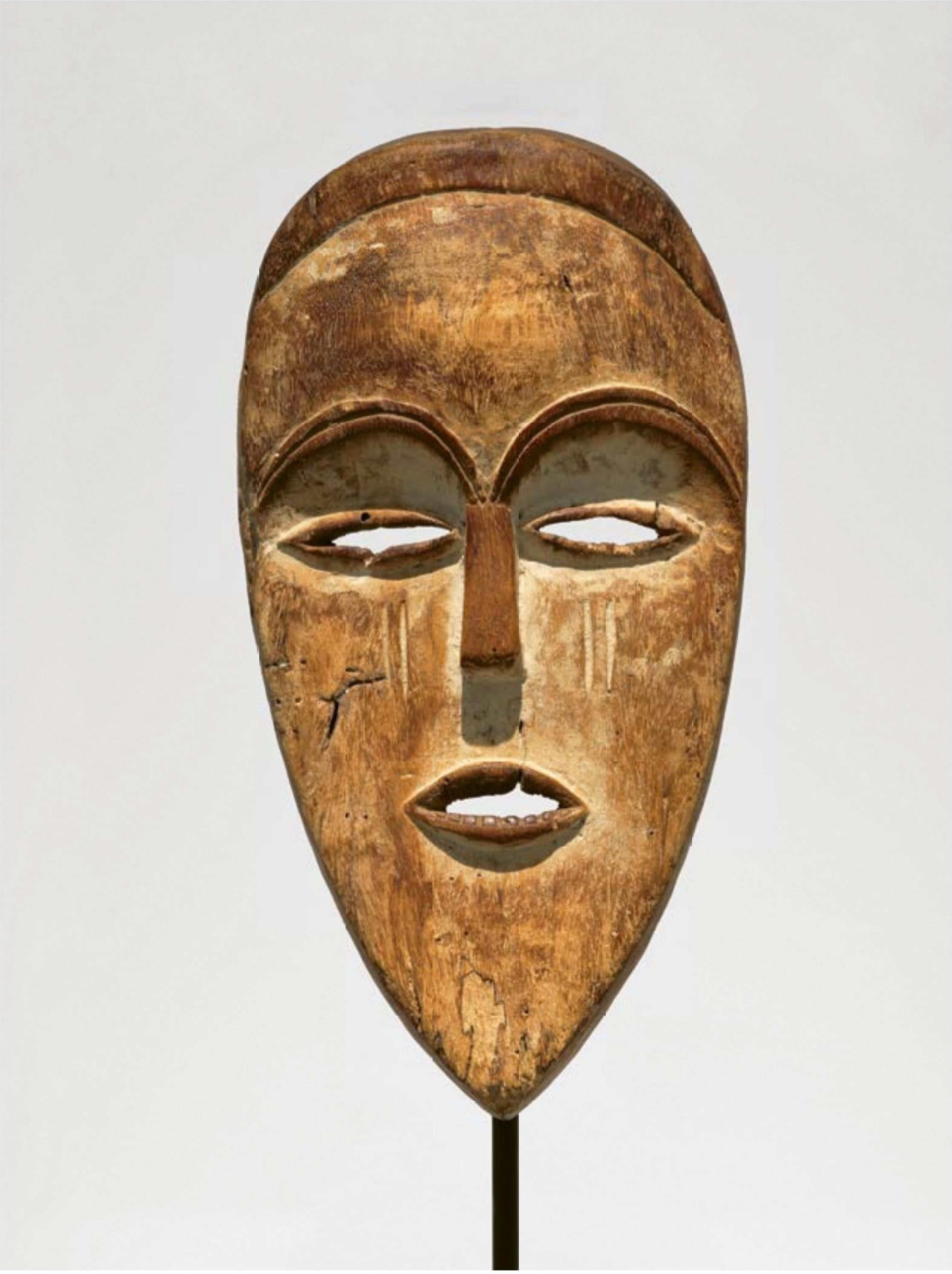
Unknown Author
Figure representing a musician
Late 19th century



Unknown Author
Female Byeri
19th century



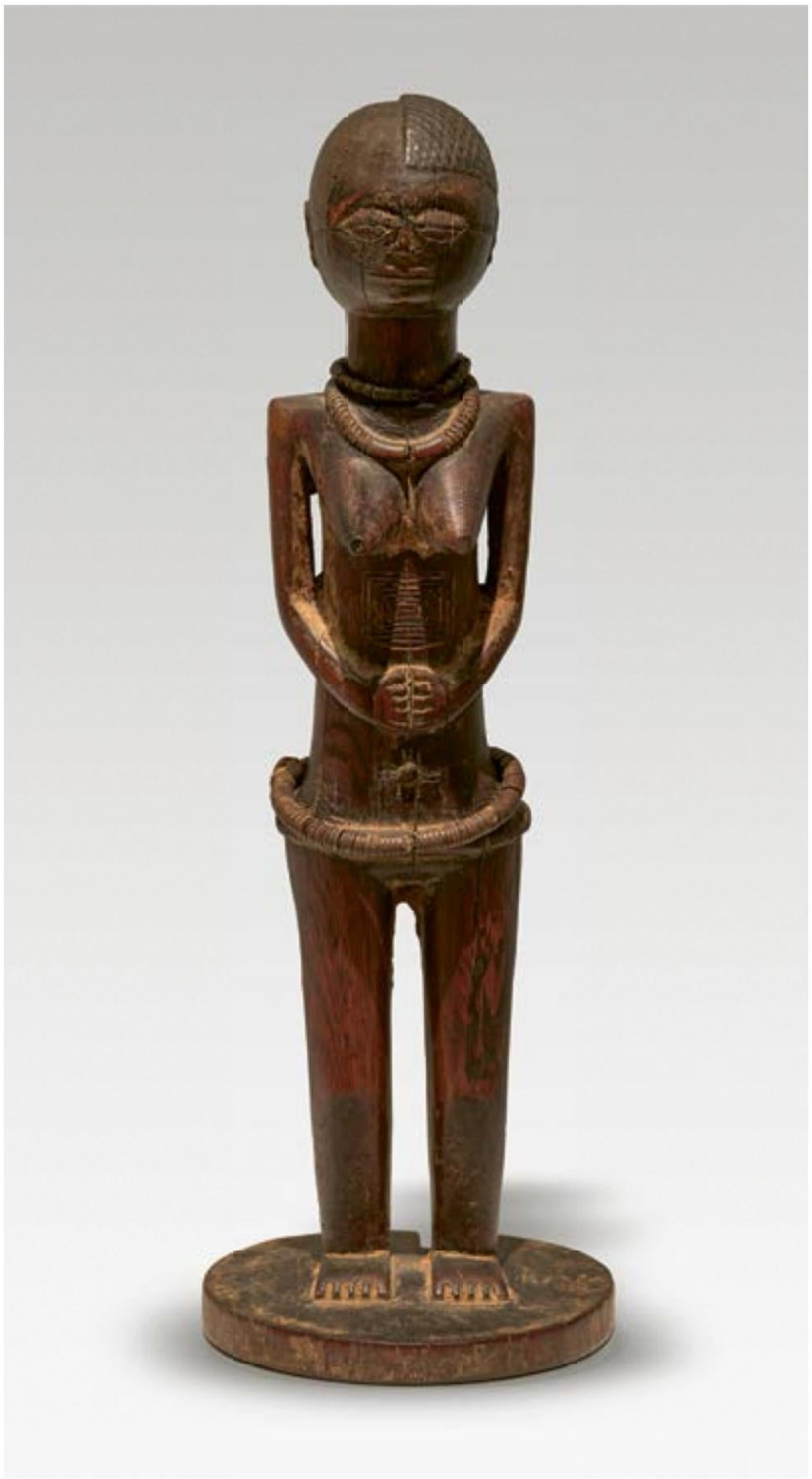
Unknown Author
Fang mask
Early 20th century



Unknown Author

Representation of a woman with tribal scarification

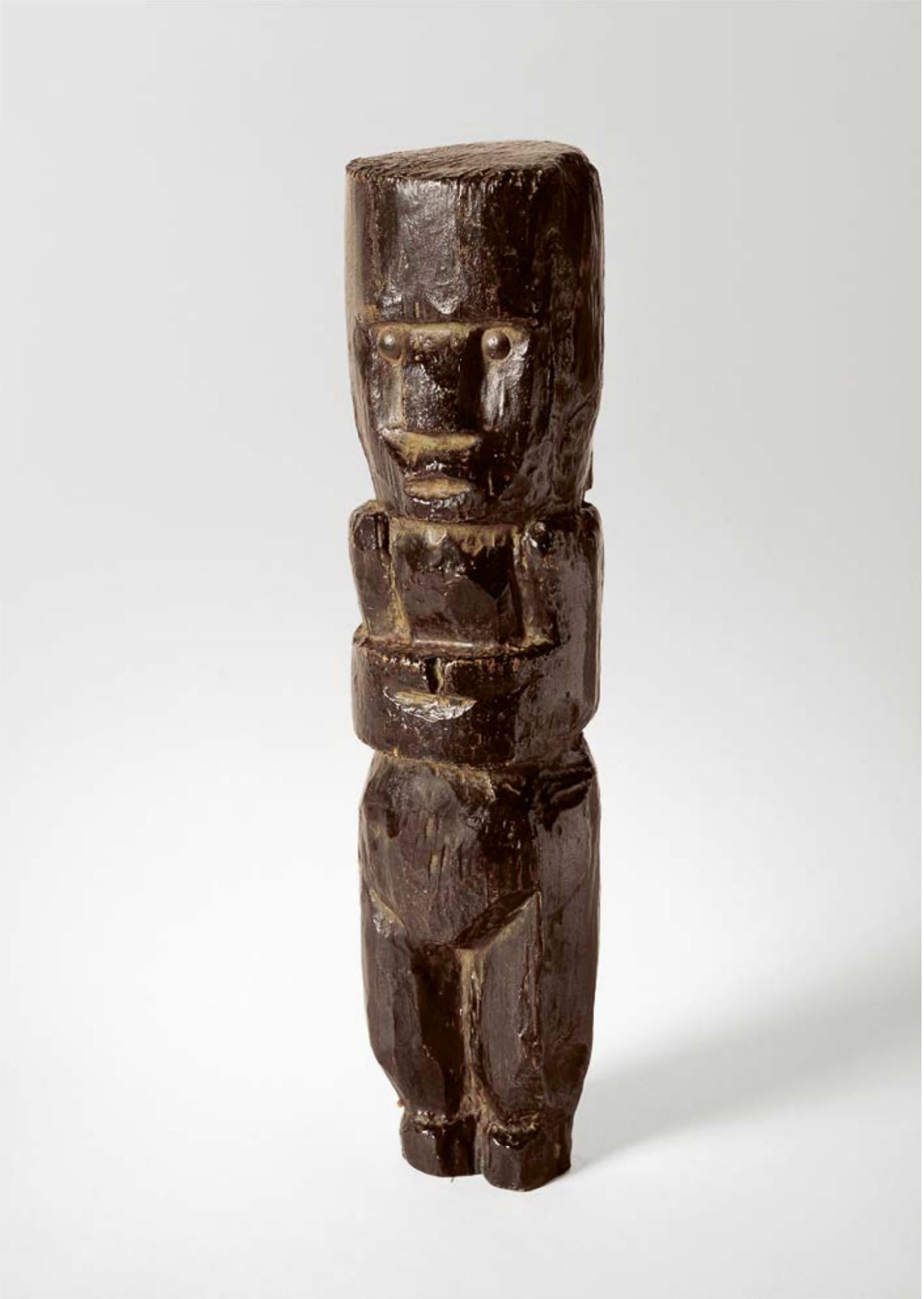
2nd half of the 19th century



Pequeña figura

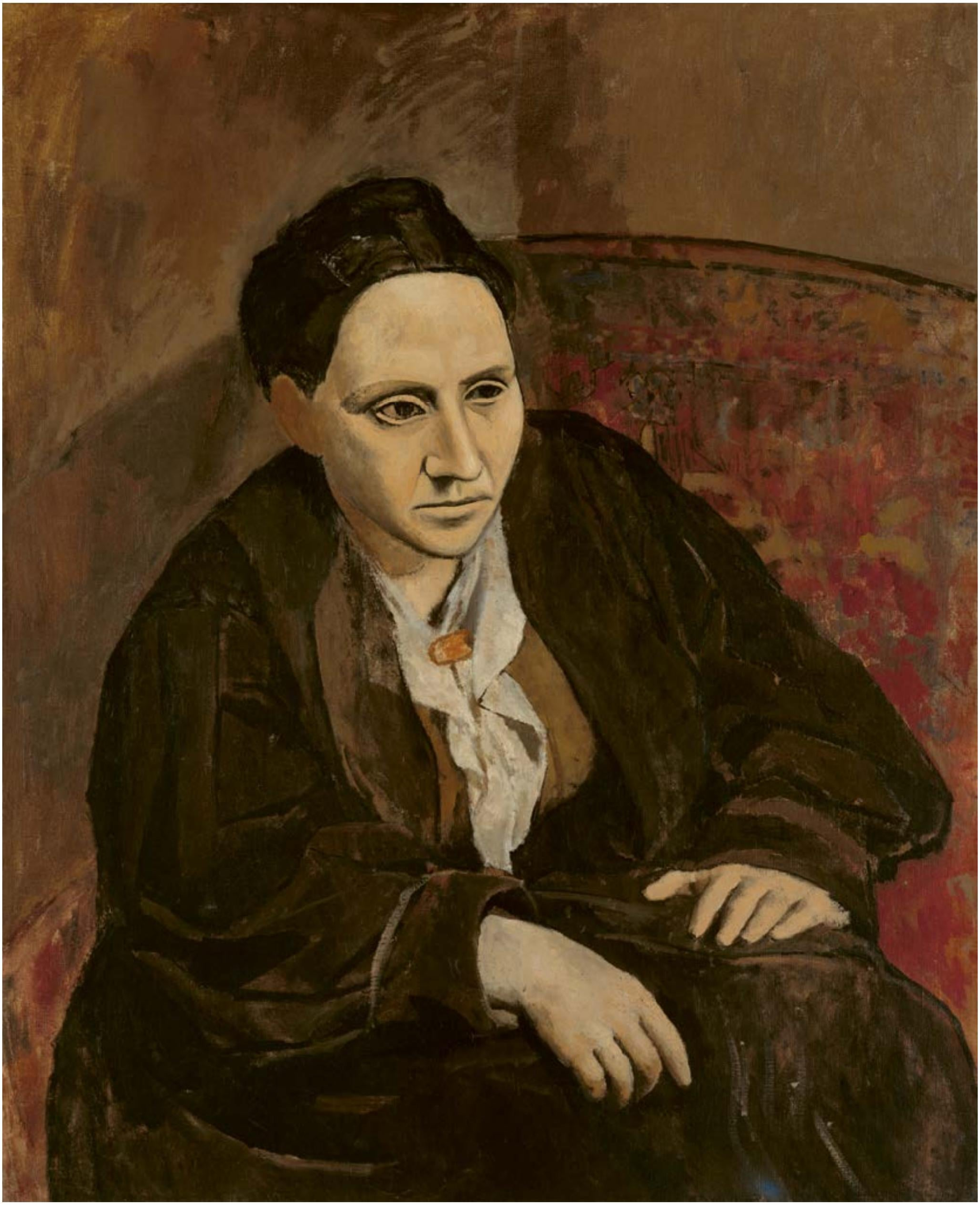
(Small Figure)

1907 (cast in 1964)

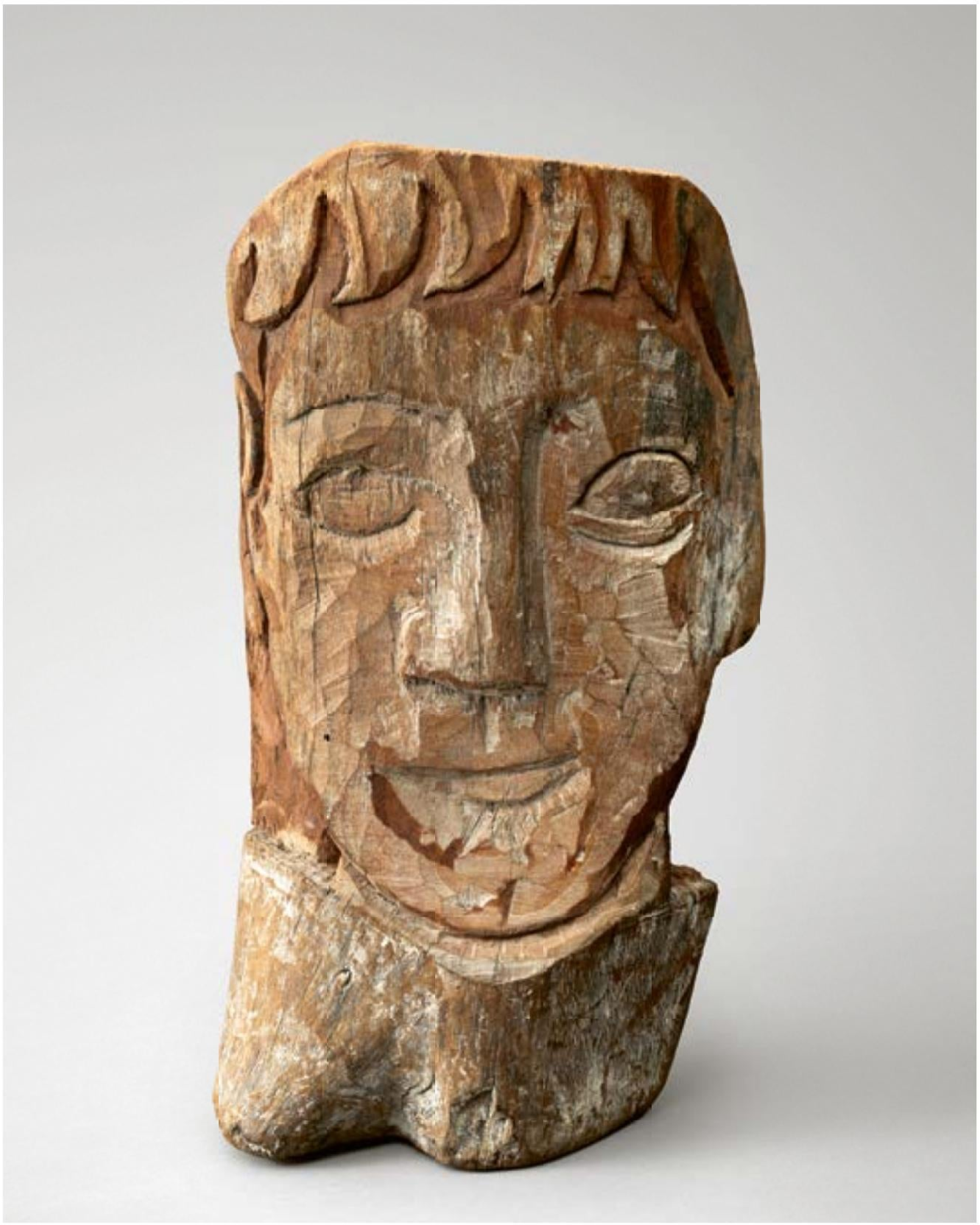


Transformations
Gertrude and Pablo

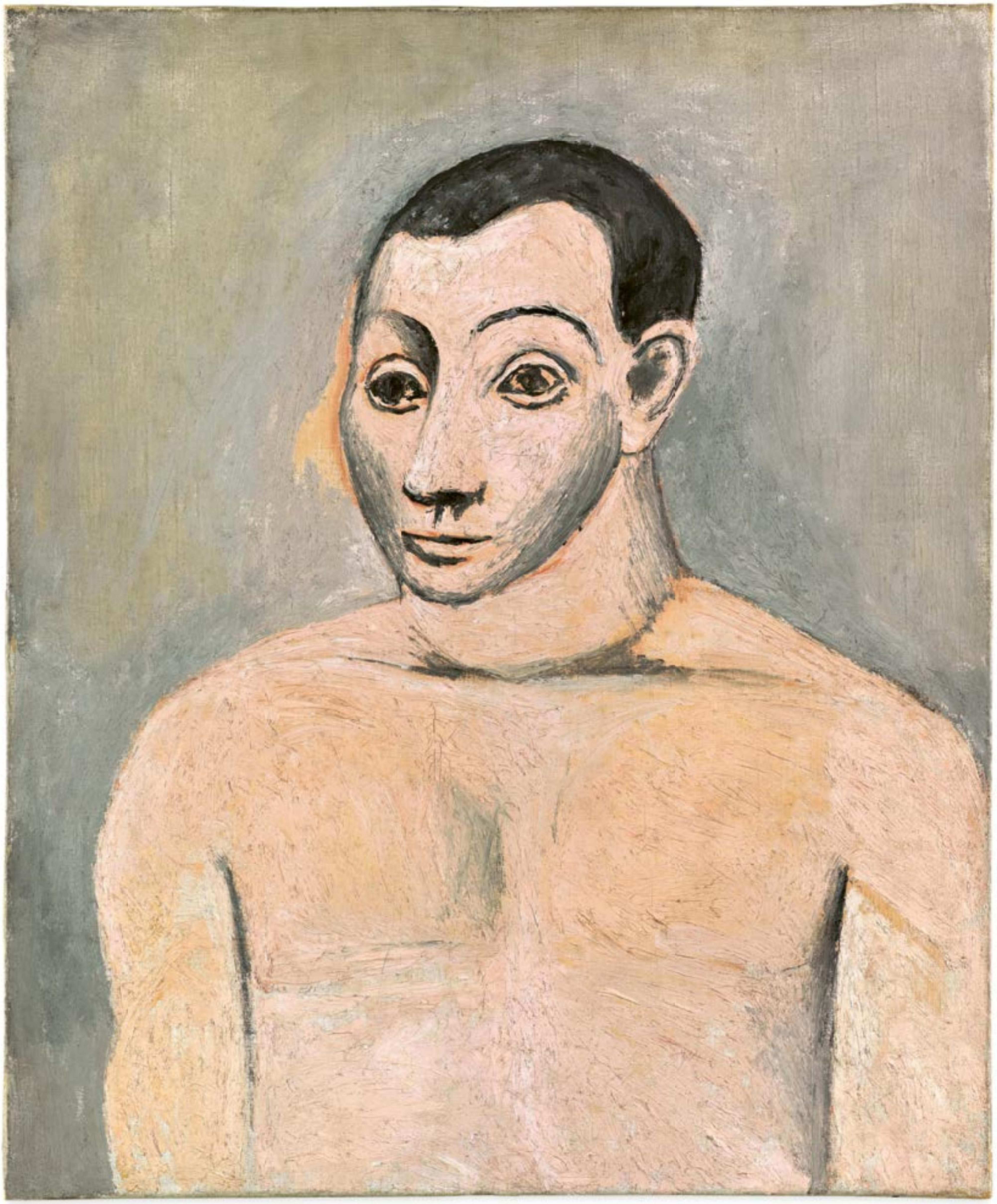
Gertrude Stein
1905–06



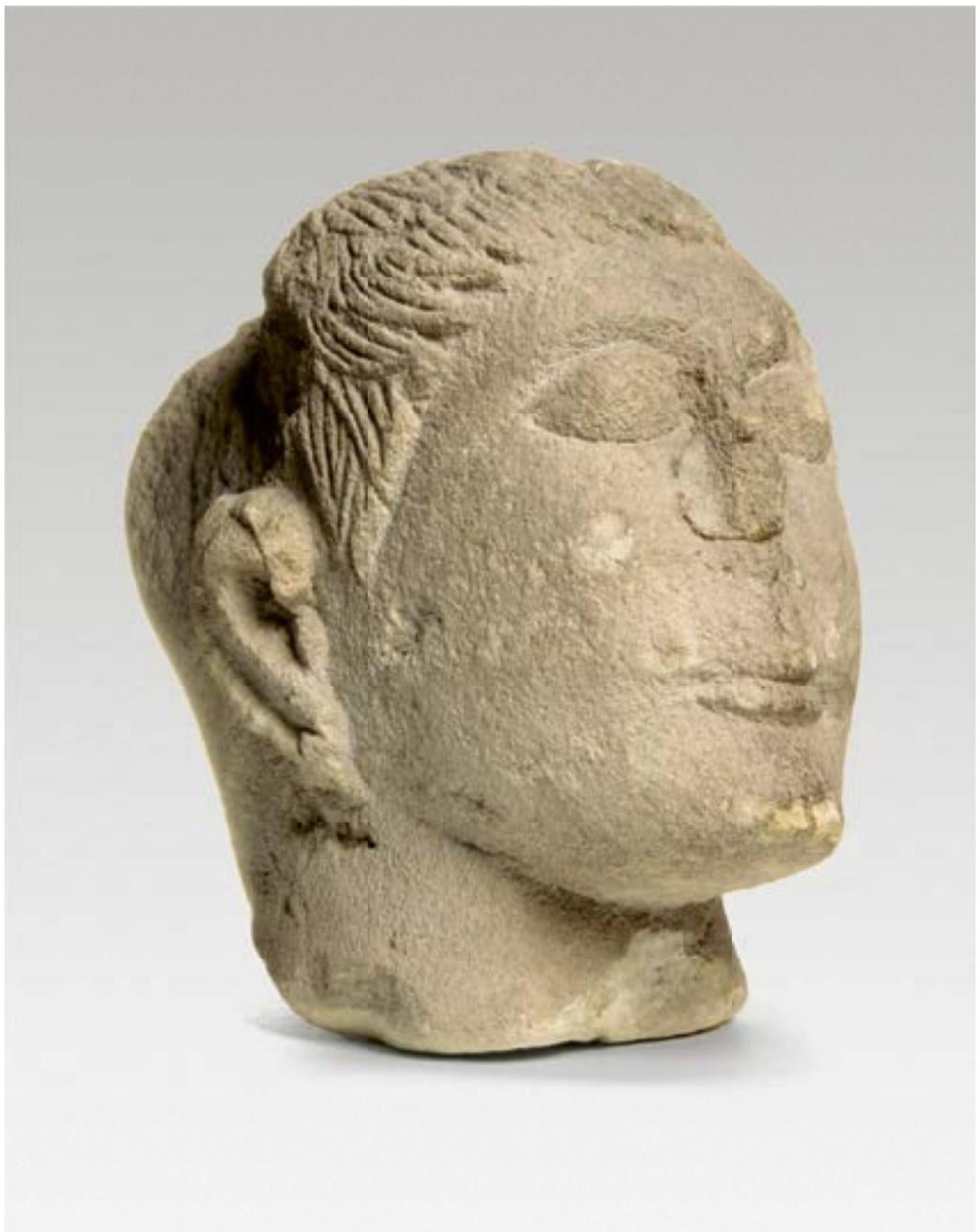
Tête
(Head)
1907

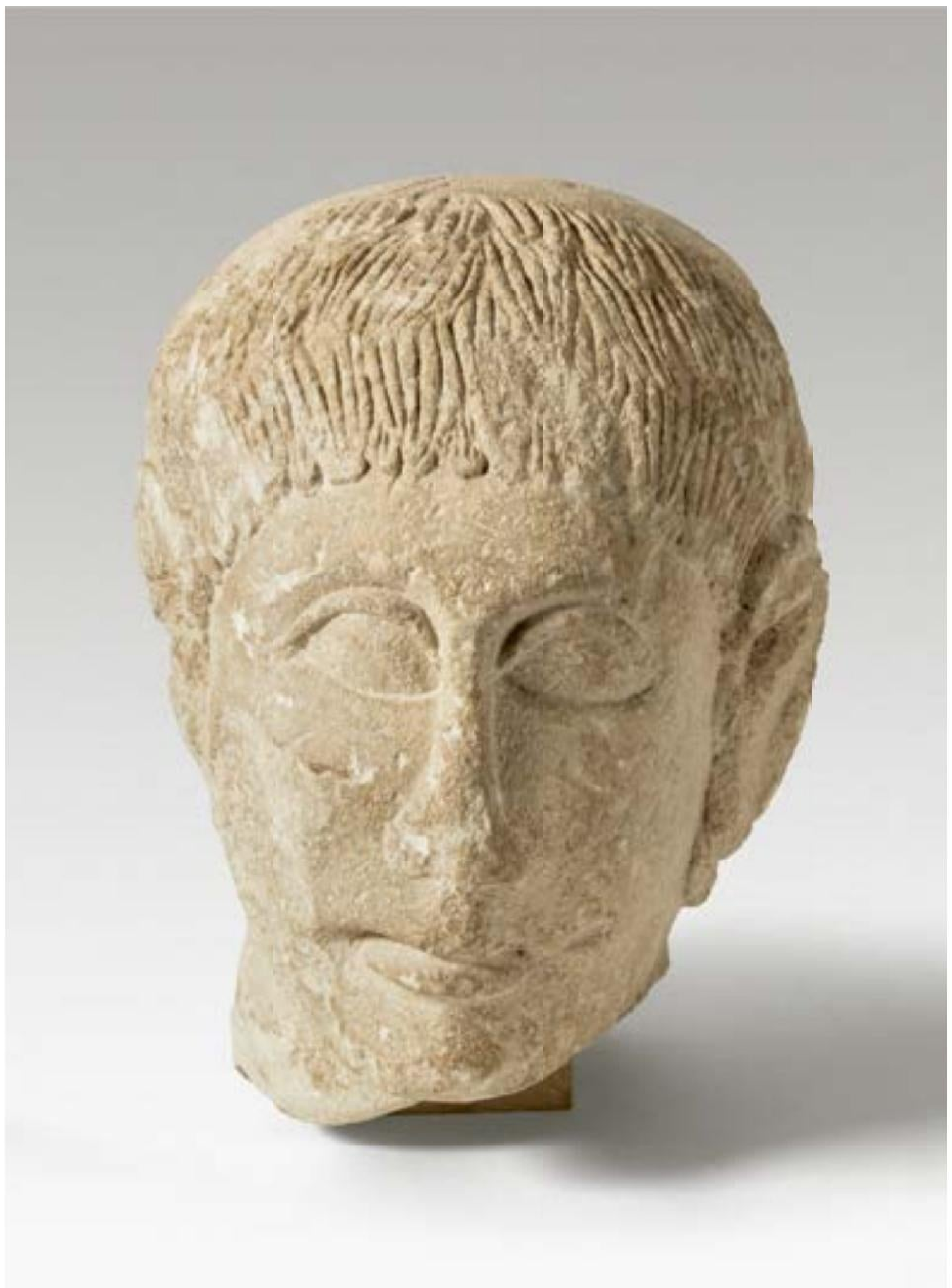


Autoportrait
(Self-Portrait)
Fall 1906

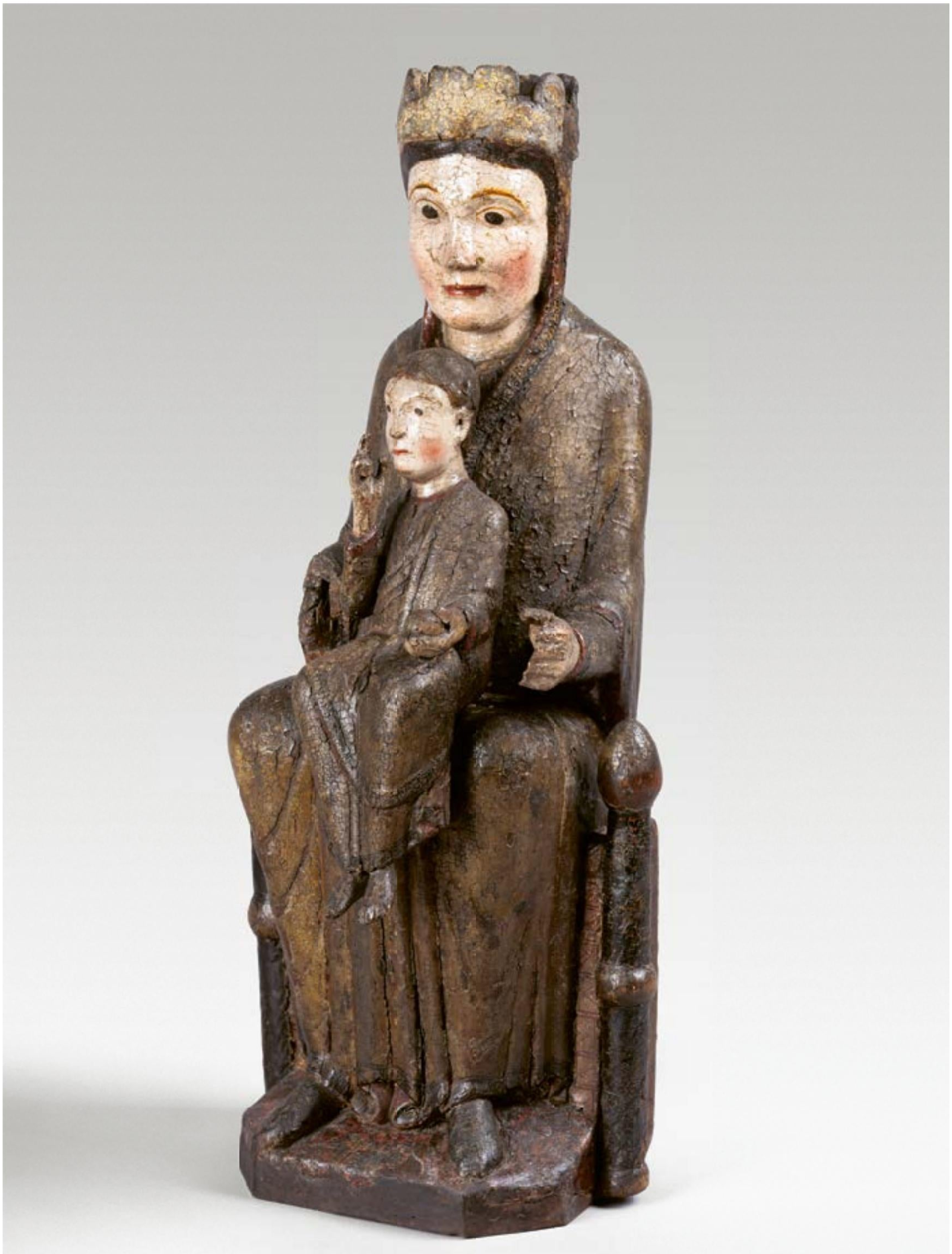


Unknown Author
Male heads
2nd–1st century BCE

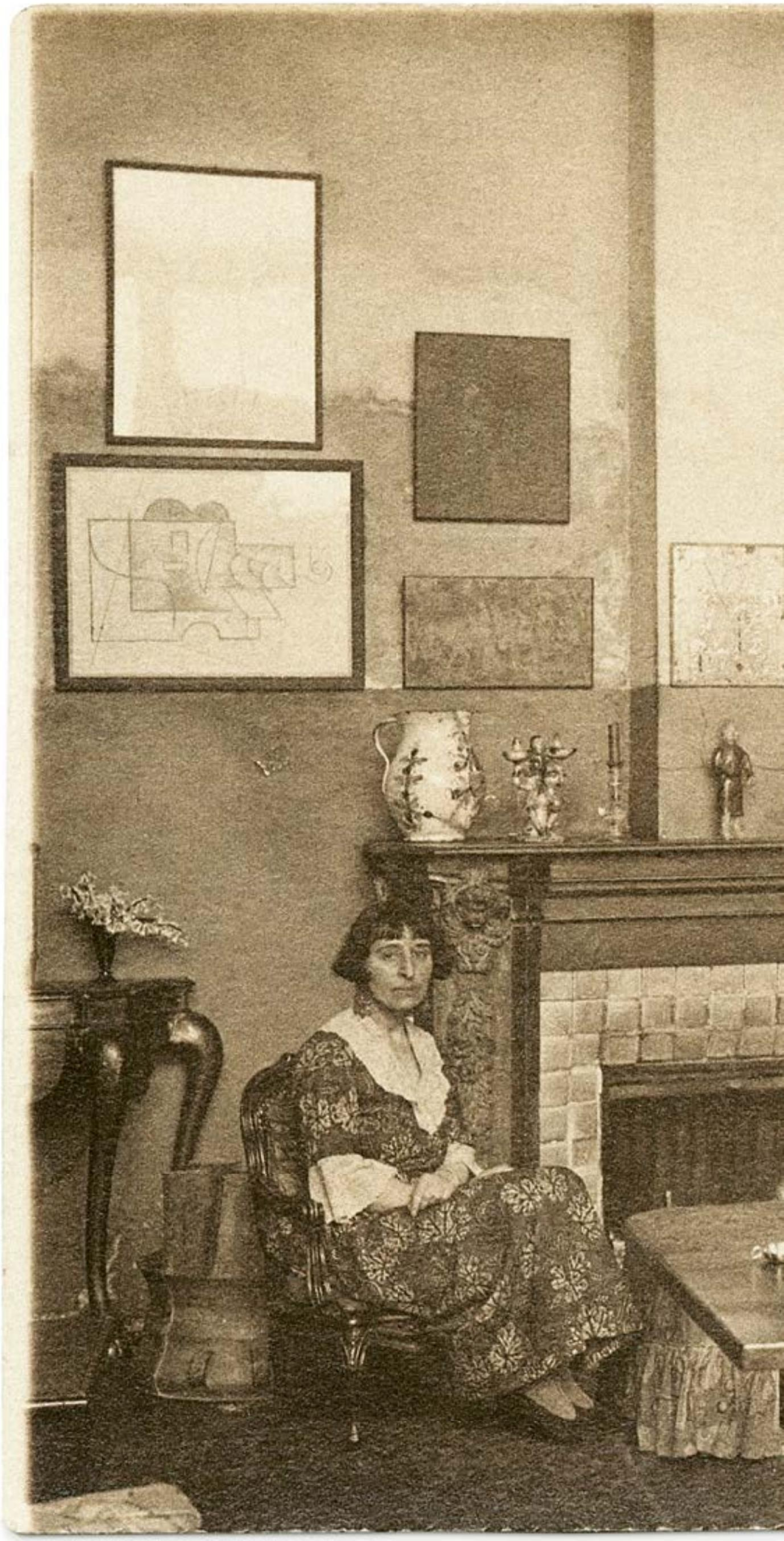


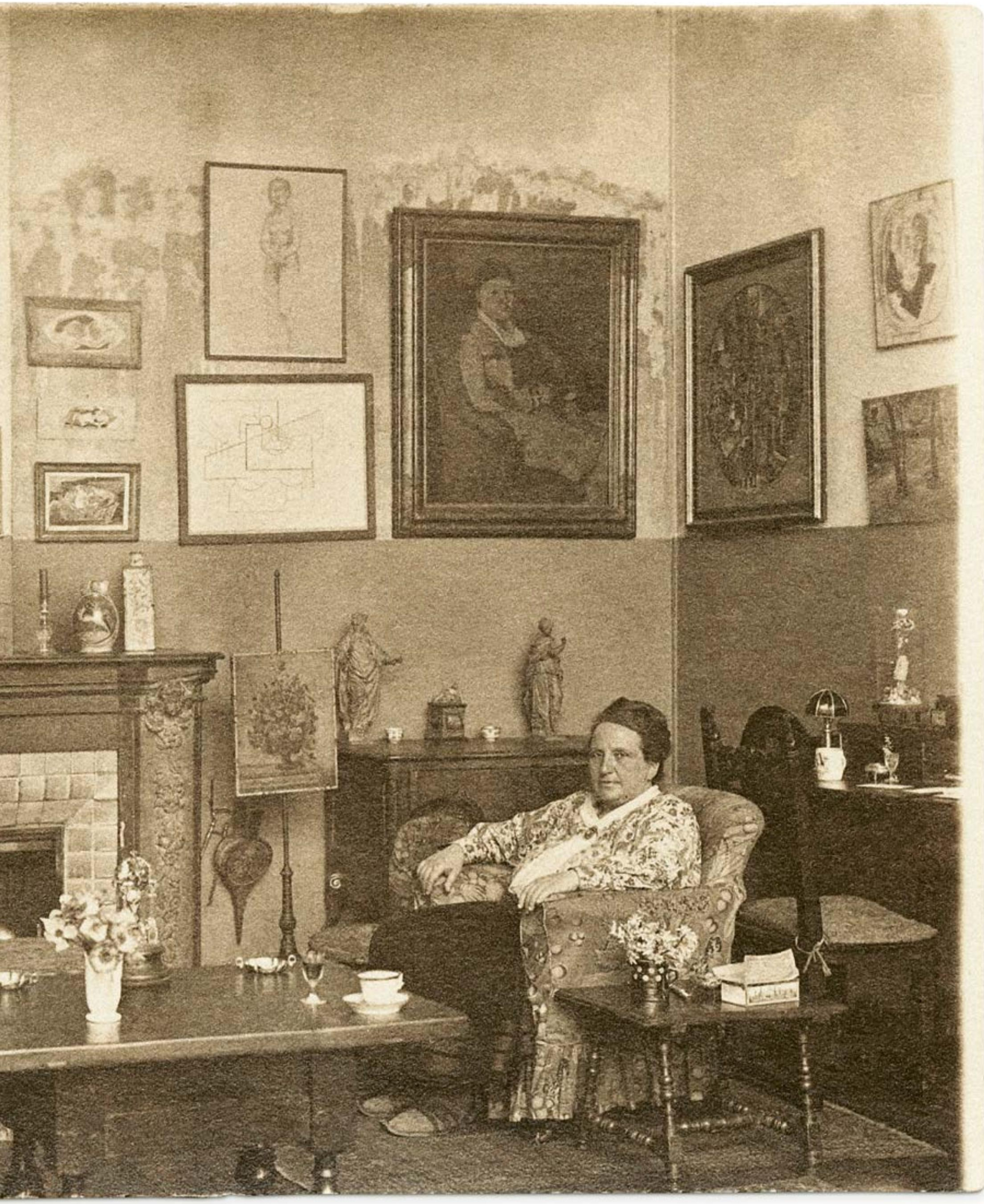


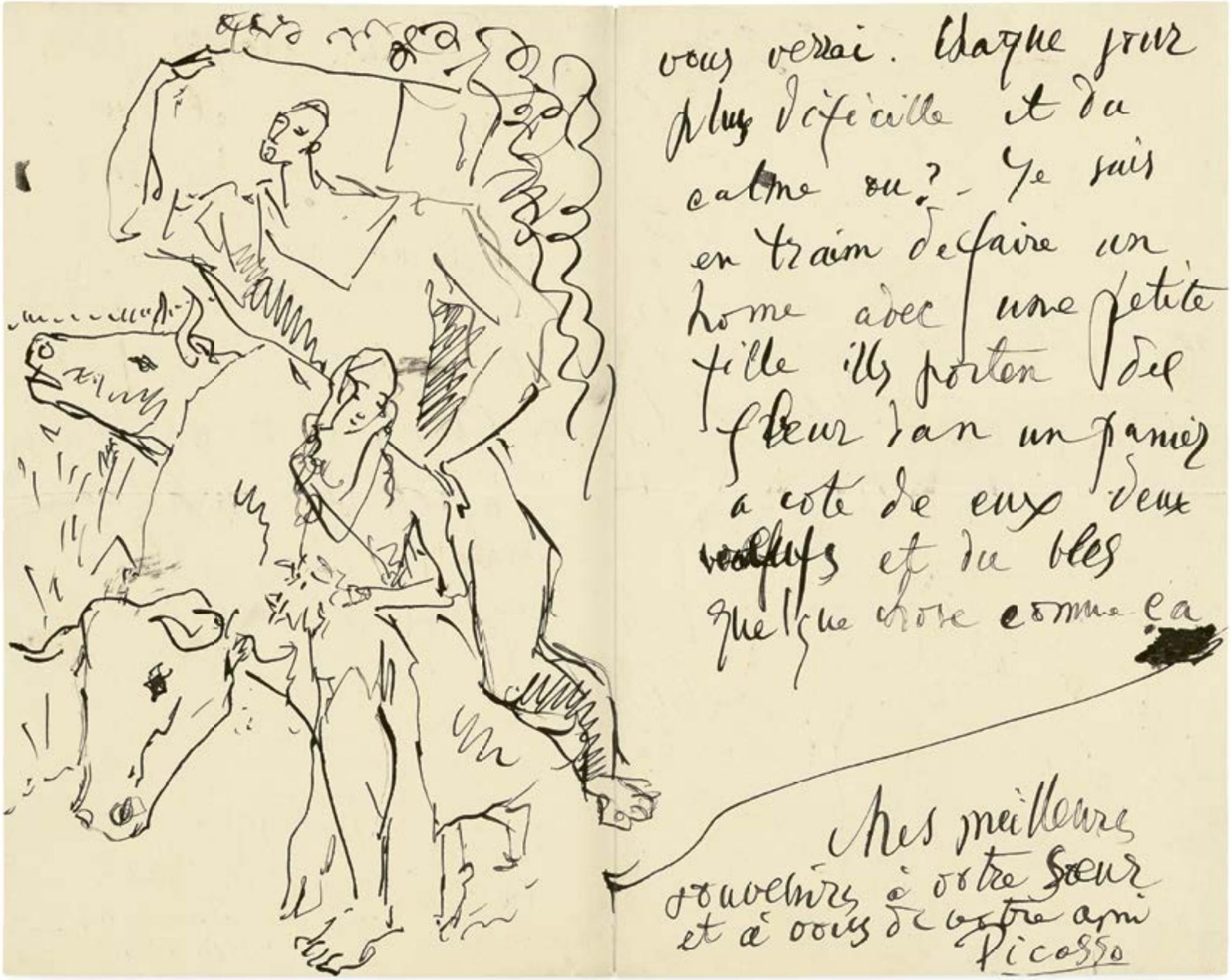
Unknown Author
Virgen de Gósol
(Virgin of Gósol)
2nd half of the 12th century



Man Ray
Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas in their apartment at 27 rue de Fleurus, Paris
1922







vous verrai. Chaque jour
plus dificille et du
calme ou? - Ye suis
en traim de faire un
home avec une petite
fille ills porten des
fleur dan un panier
a cote de eux deux
boeufs et du bles
quelque chose comme ça

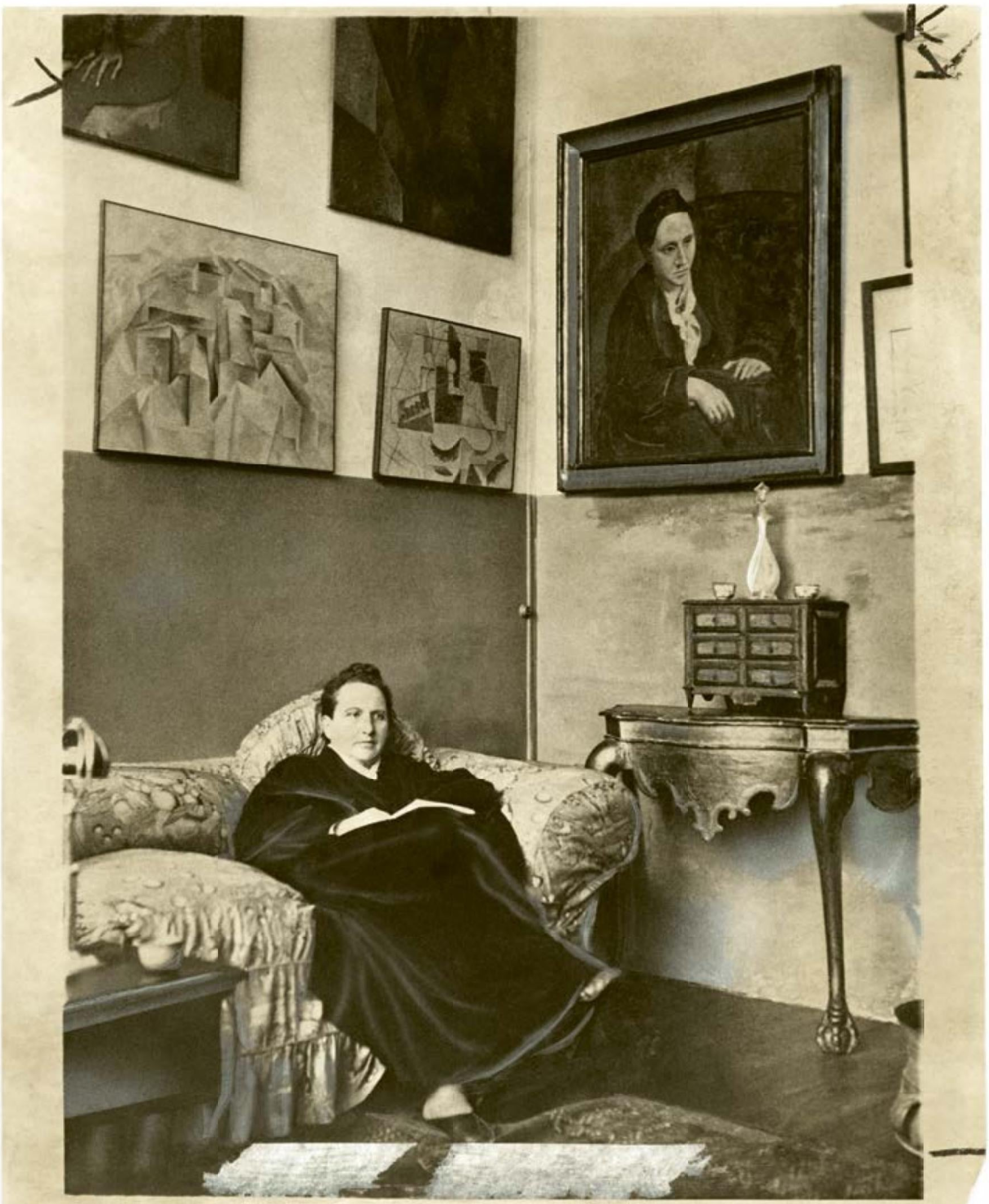
Mes meilleurs
souvenirs à votre Soeur
et à vous de votre ami
Picasso

Letter from Pablo Picasso to Leo Stein with sketch of "Les Paysans"
(The Peasants)
August 17, 1906

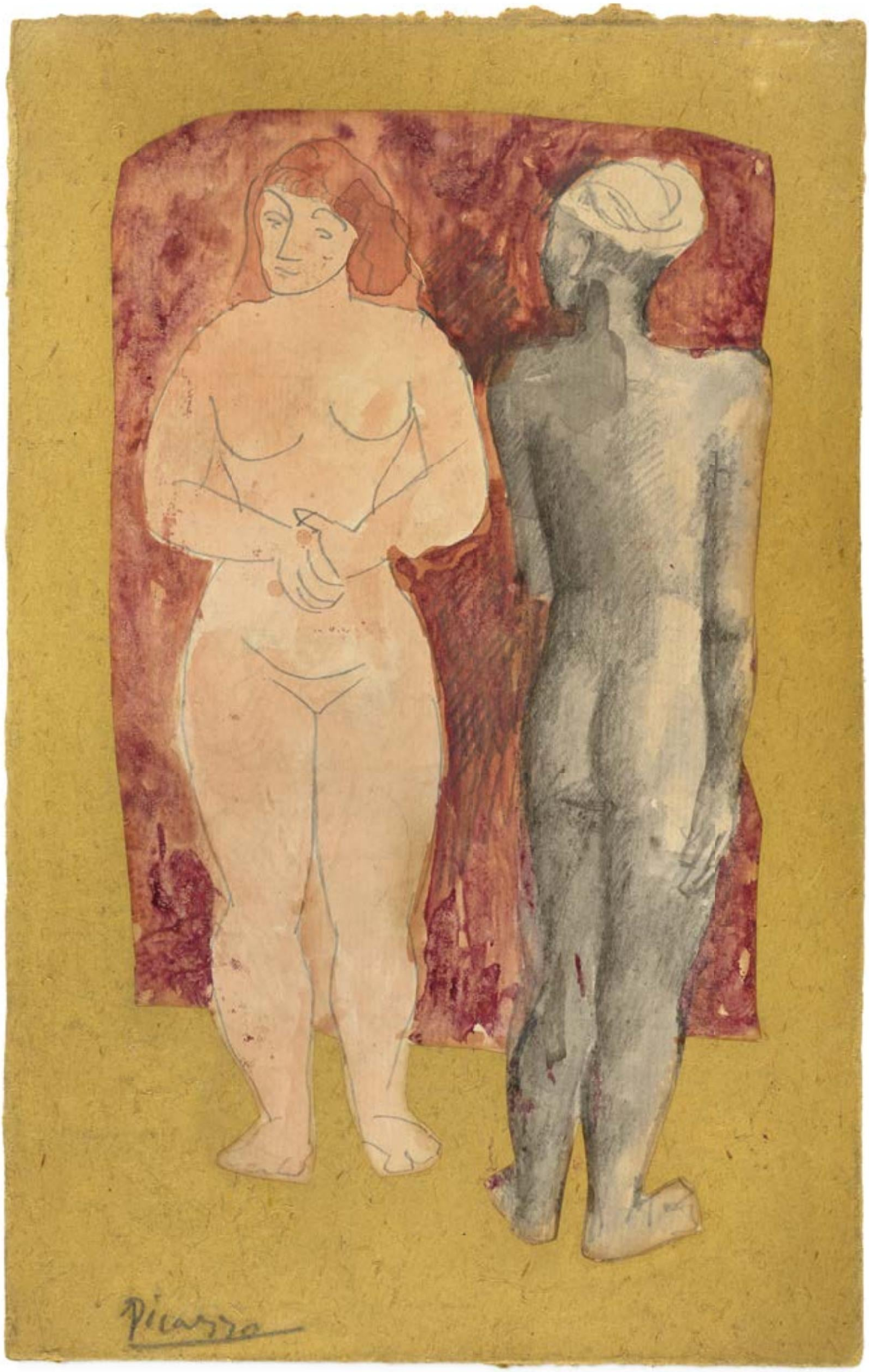
Unknown Author

Gertrude Stein sitting on a sofa in her Paris studio, with a portrait of her by Pablo Picasso, and other modern art paintings hanging on the wall behind her

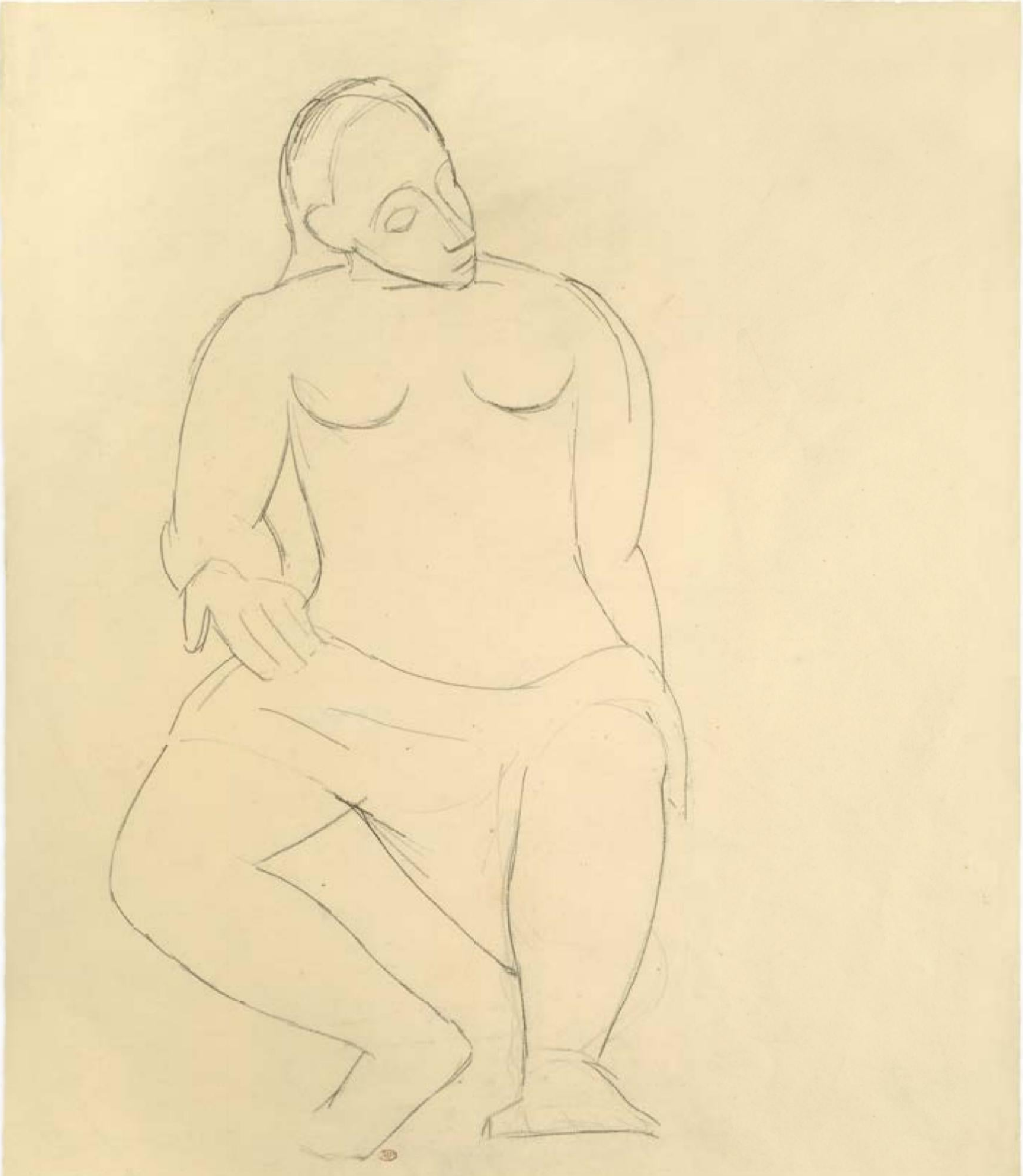
1930



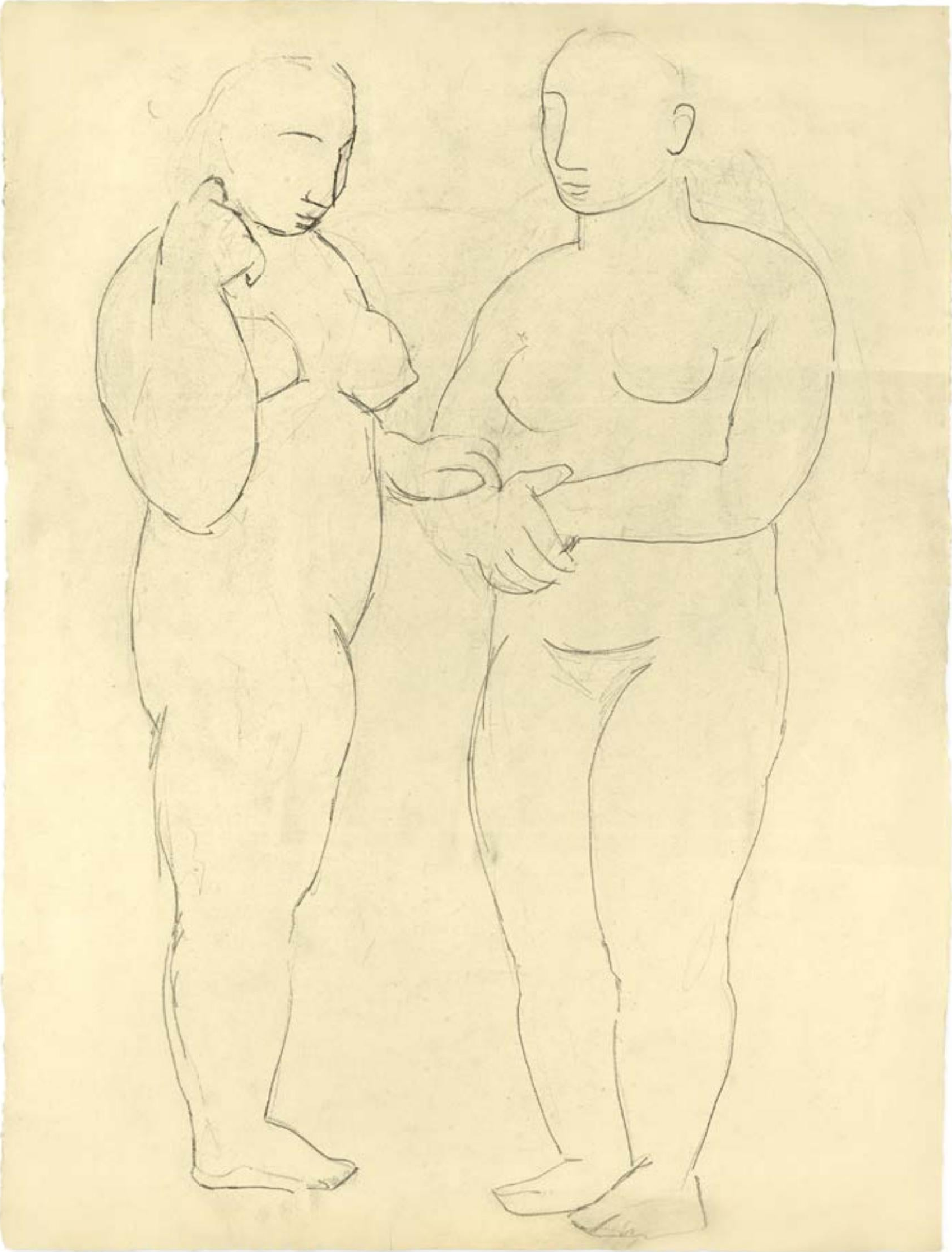
Two Nude Women
1906


Picasso

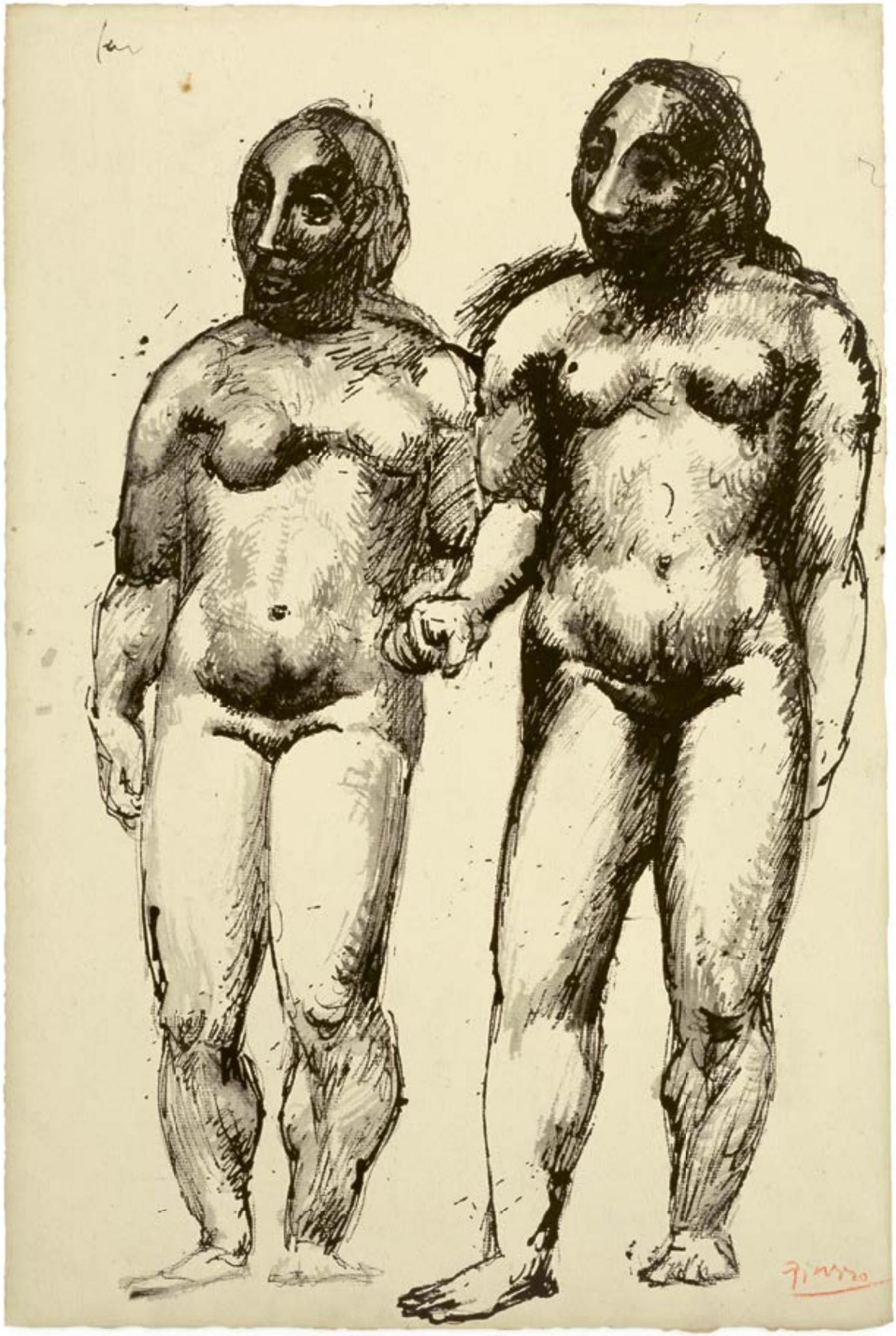
Femme assise de face
(Seated Woman, Front)
Fall 1906



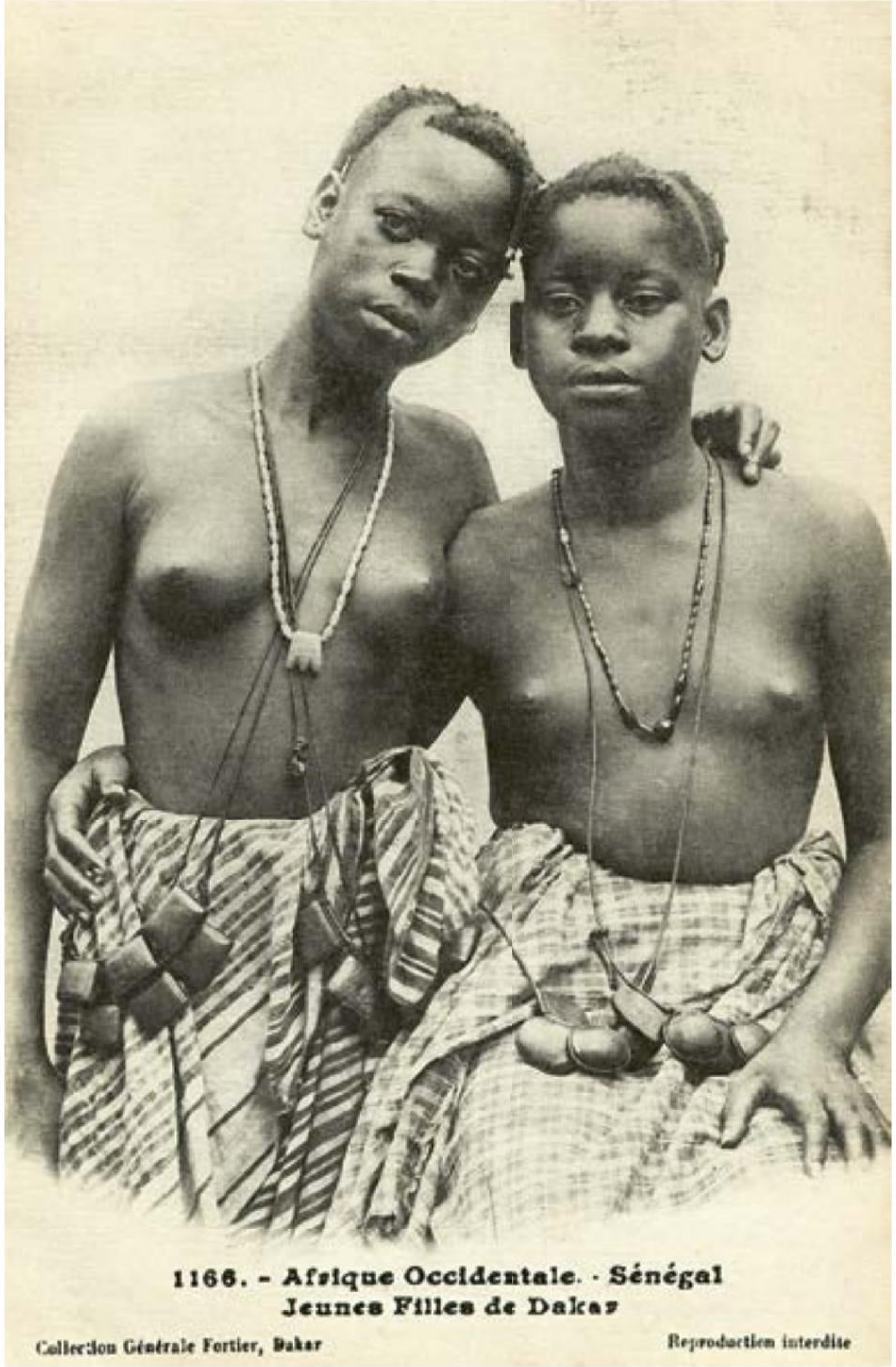
Two Female Nudes
Fall 1906



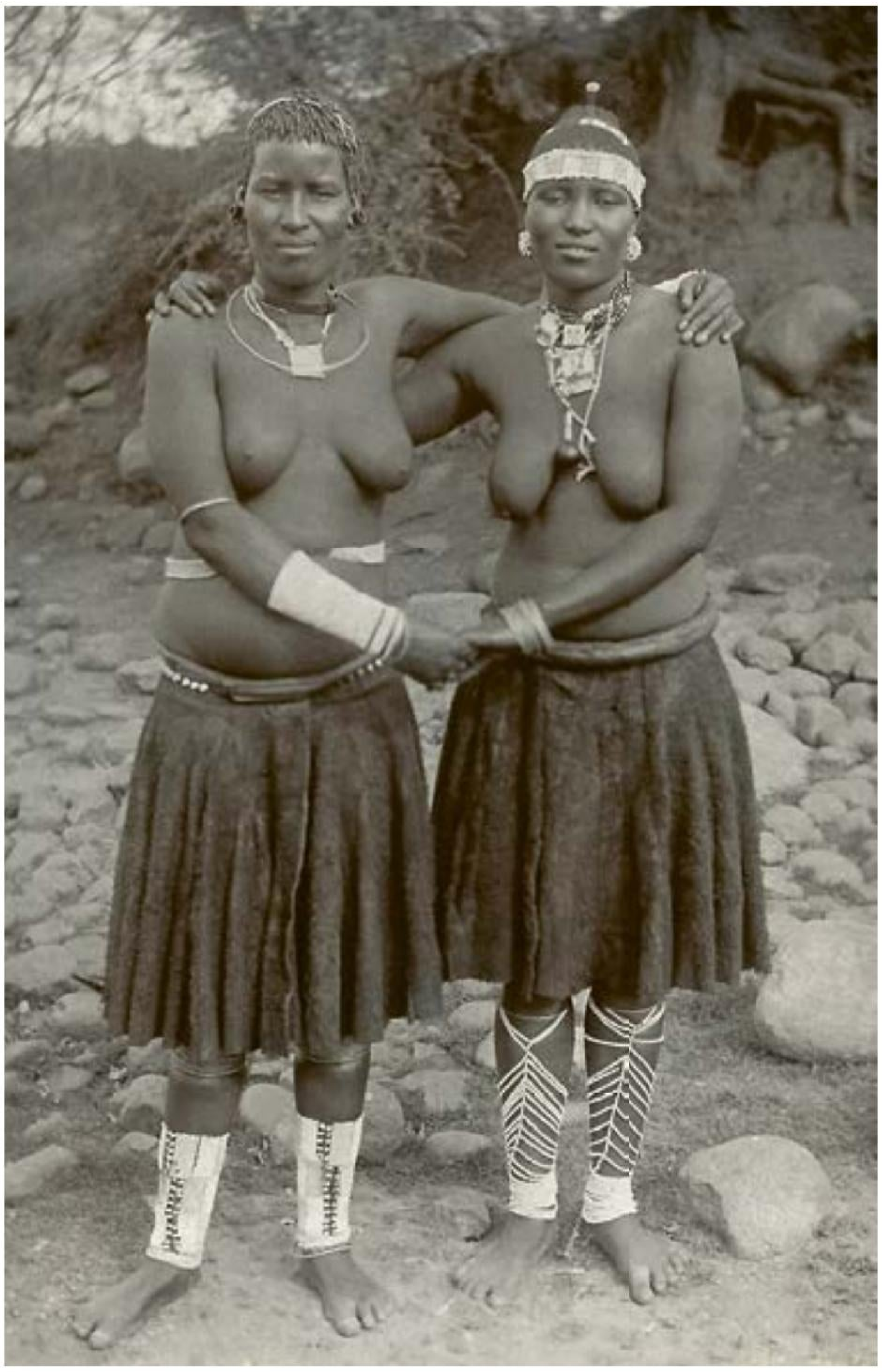
Two Nudes
1906



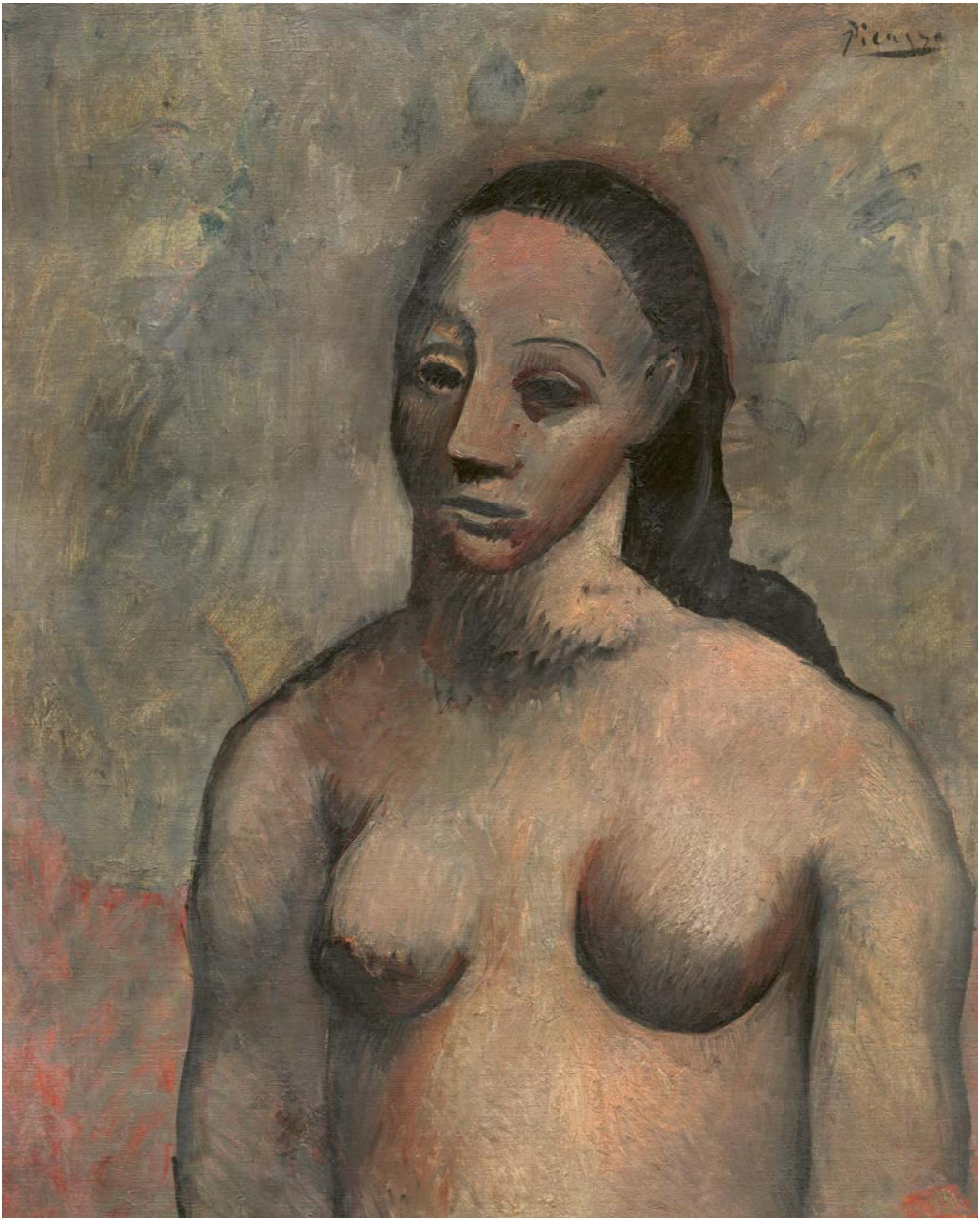
François-Edmond Fortier
Postcard from the
Afrique Occidentale series
1st third of the 20th century


1166. - Afrique Occidentale. - Sénégal
Jeunes Filles de Dakar
Collection Générale Fortier, Dakar
Reproduction interdite

Unknown Author
Two women, very likely Dinka,
from Sudan
1st third of the 20th century



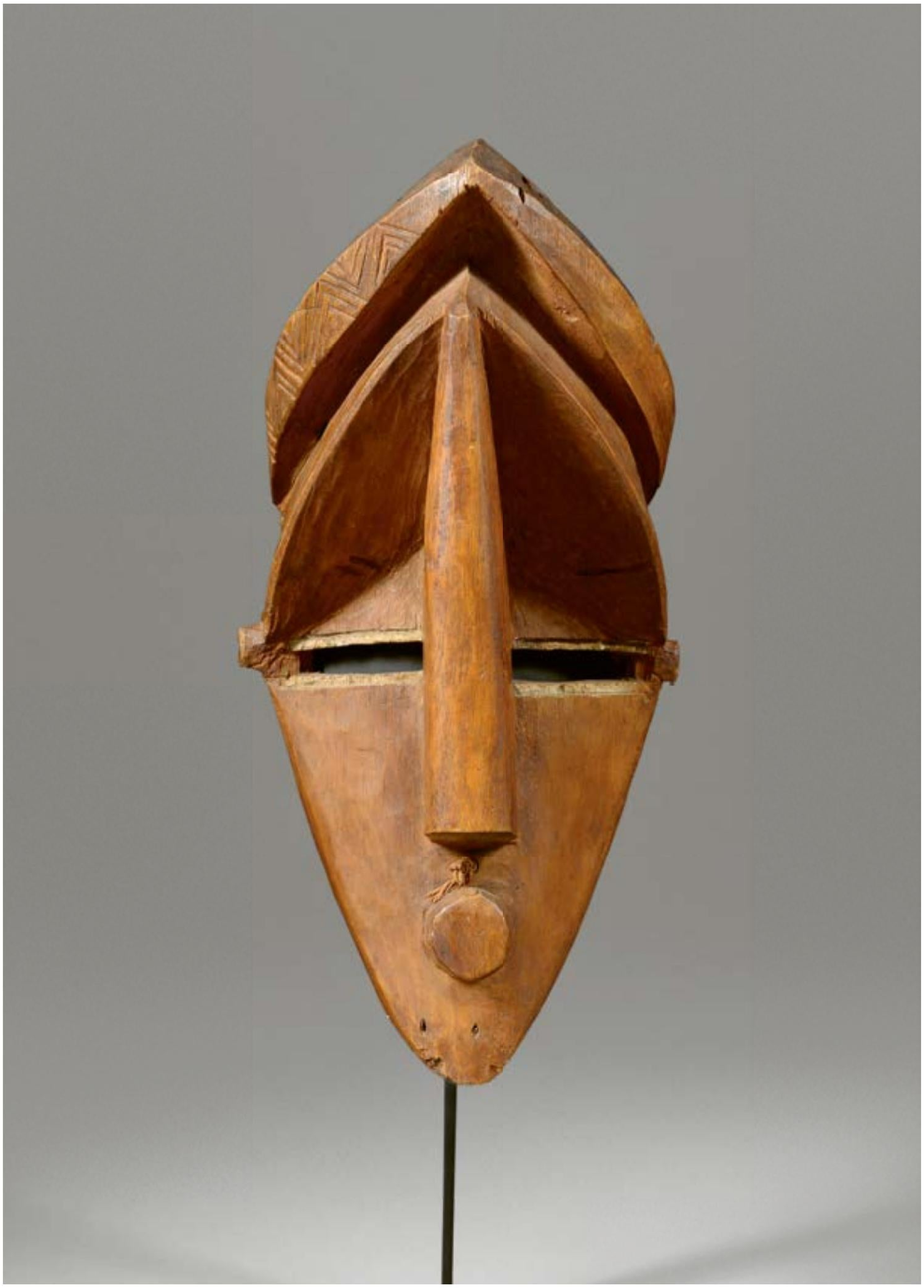
Half-Length Female Nude
Fall 1906


Picasso

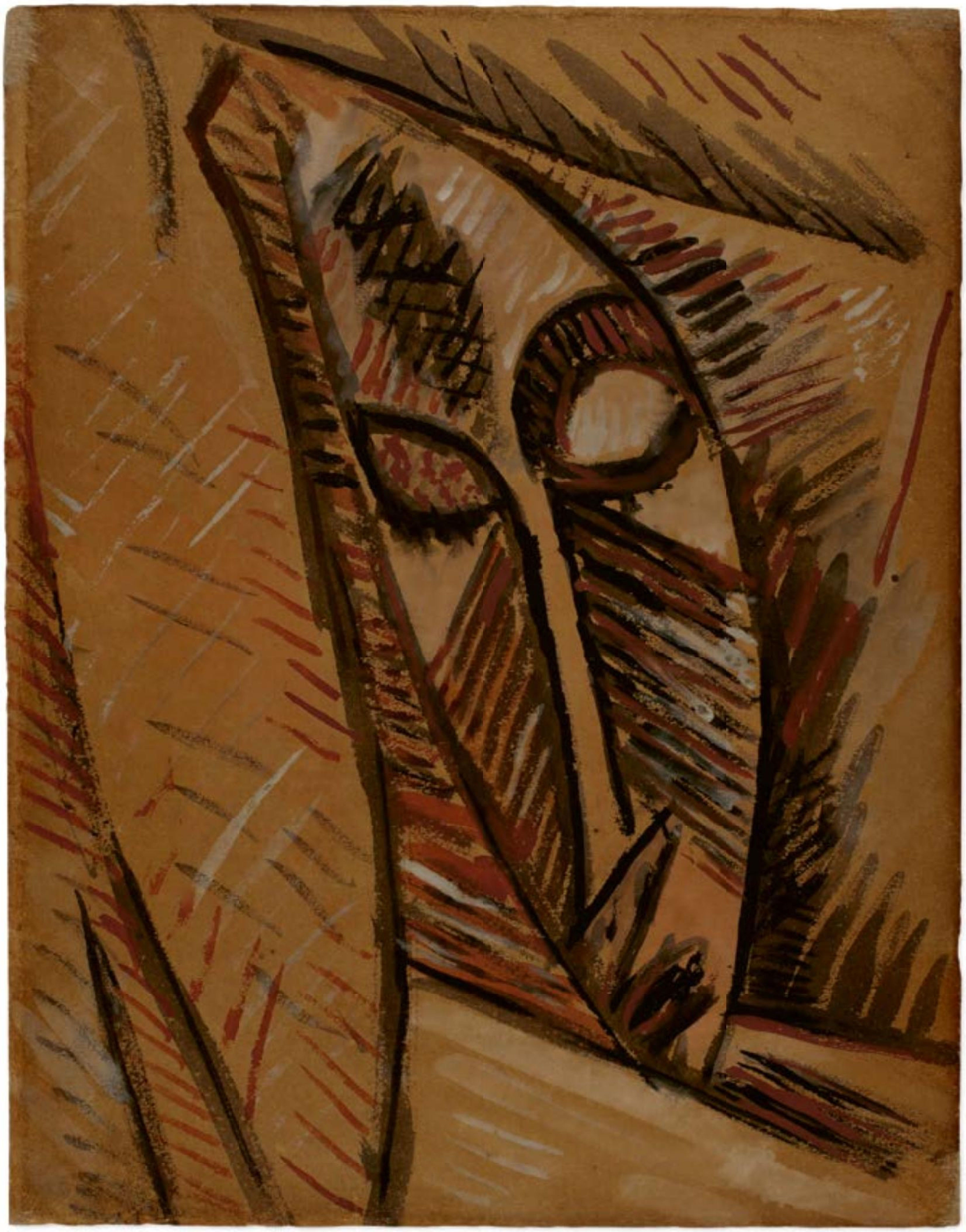
Unknown Author

Male mask

Iwa-Iwa or Iwala culture
(Democratic Republic of the Congo)
Turn of the 19th to 20th century

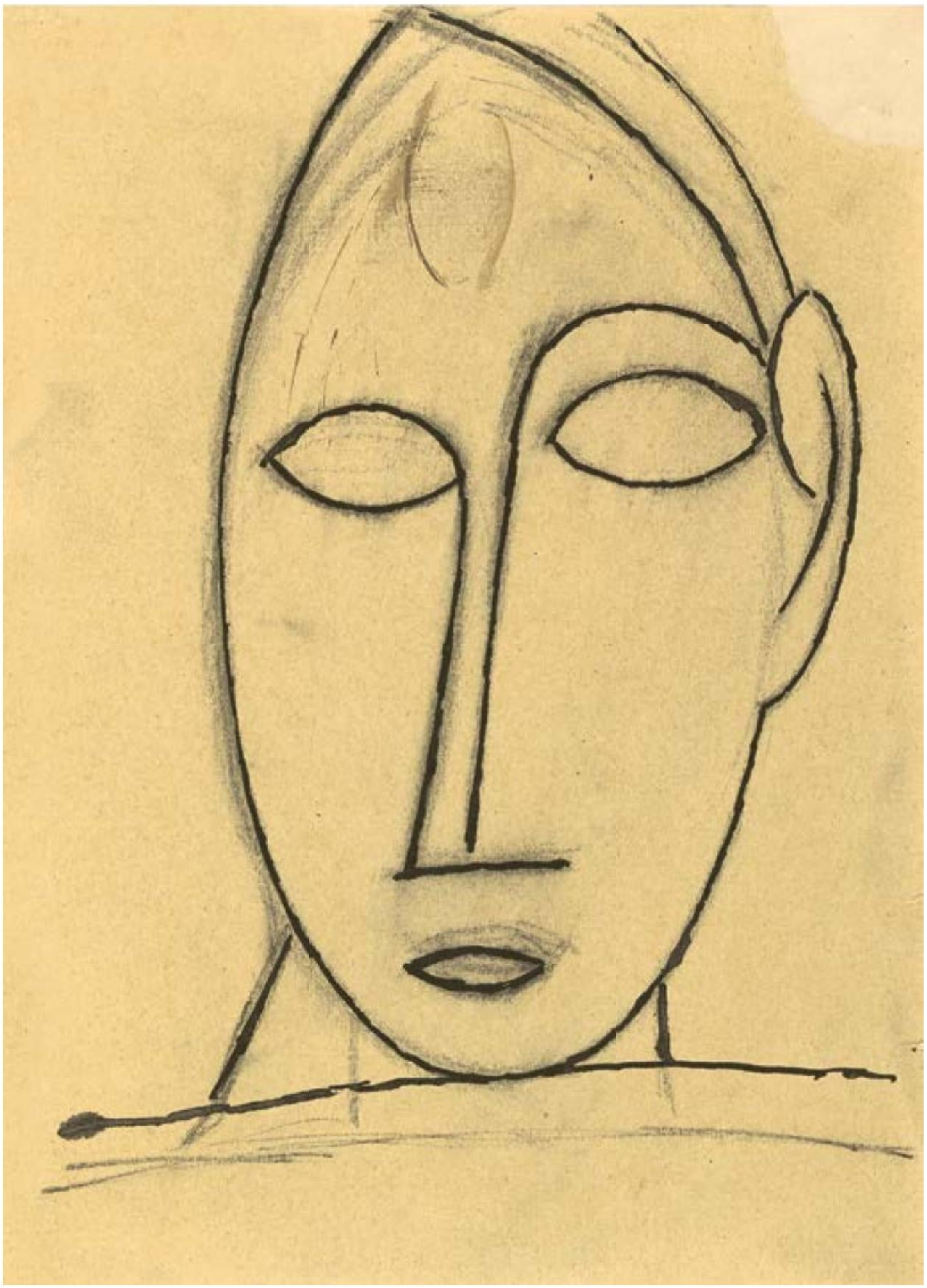


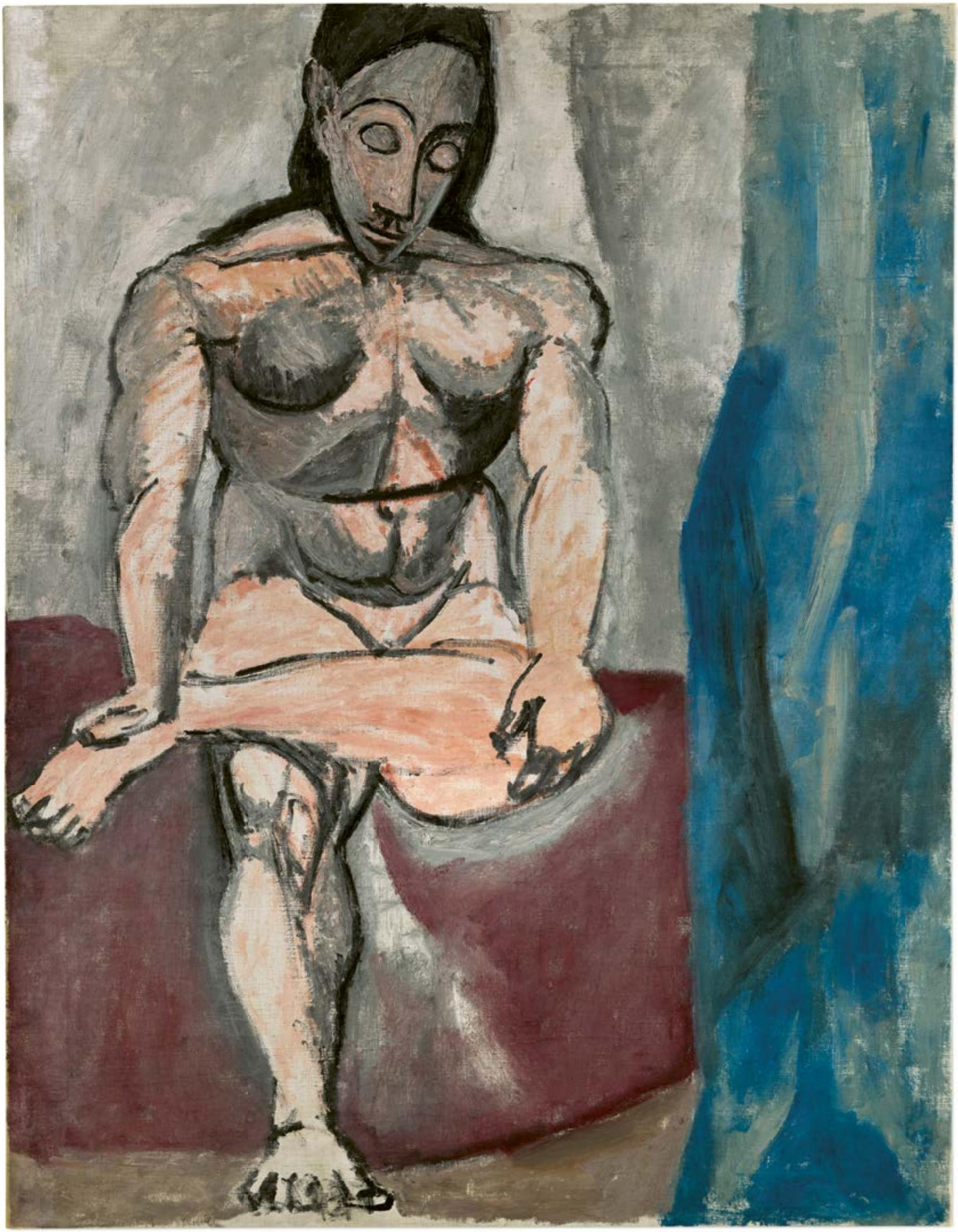
Estudio para la cabeza de “Desnudo con paños”
(Study for the Head of “Nude with Drapery”)
1907



Étude pour Femme aux mains jointes: Tête de femme (Carnet 5)
(Study for Woman with Joined Hands: Head of a Woman [Carnet 5])
1907

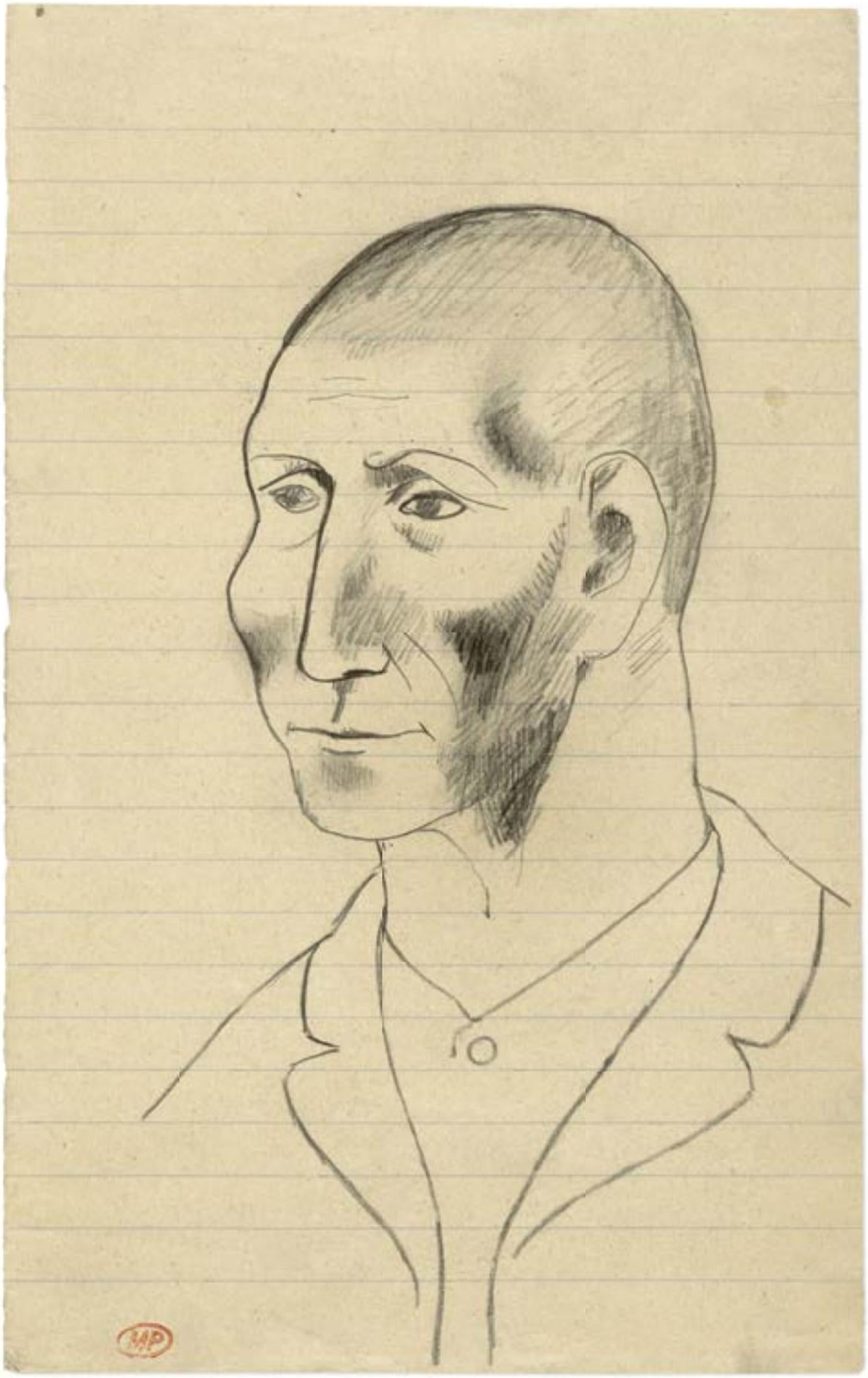
Nu assis (étude pour “Les Demoiselles d’Avignon”)
(Seated Nude [study for “Les Demoiselles d’Avignon”])
Winter 1906–07



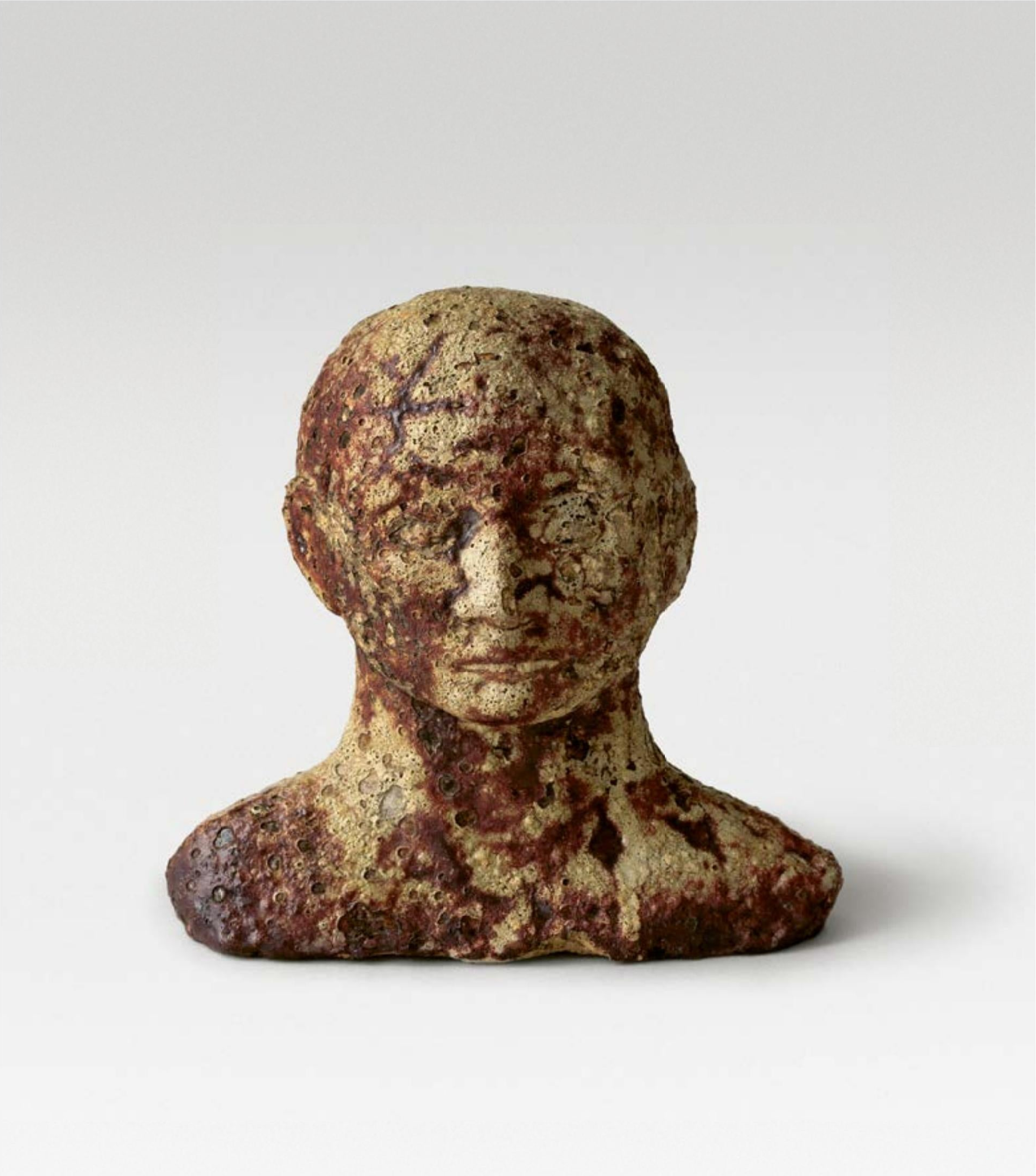


Transformations
Fondevila

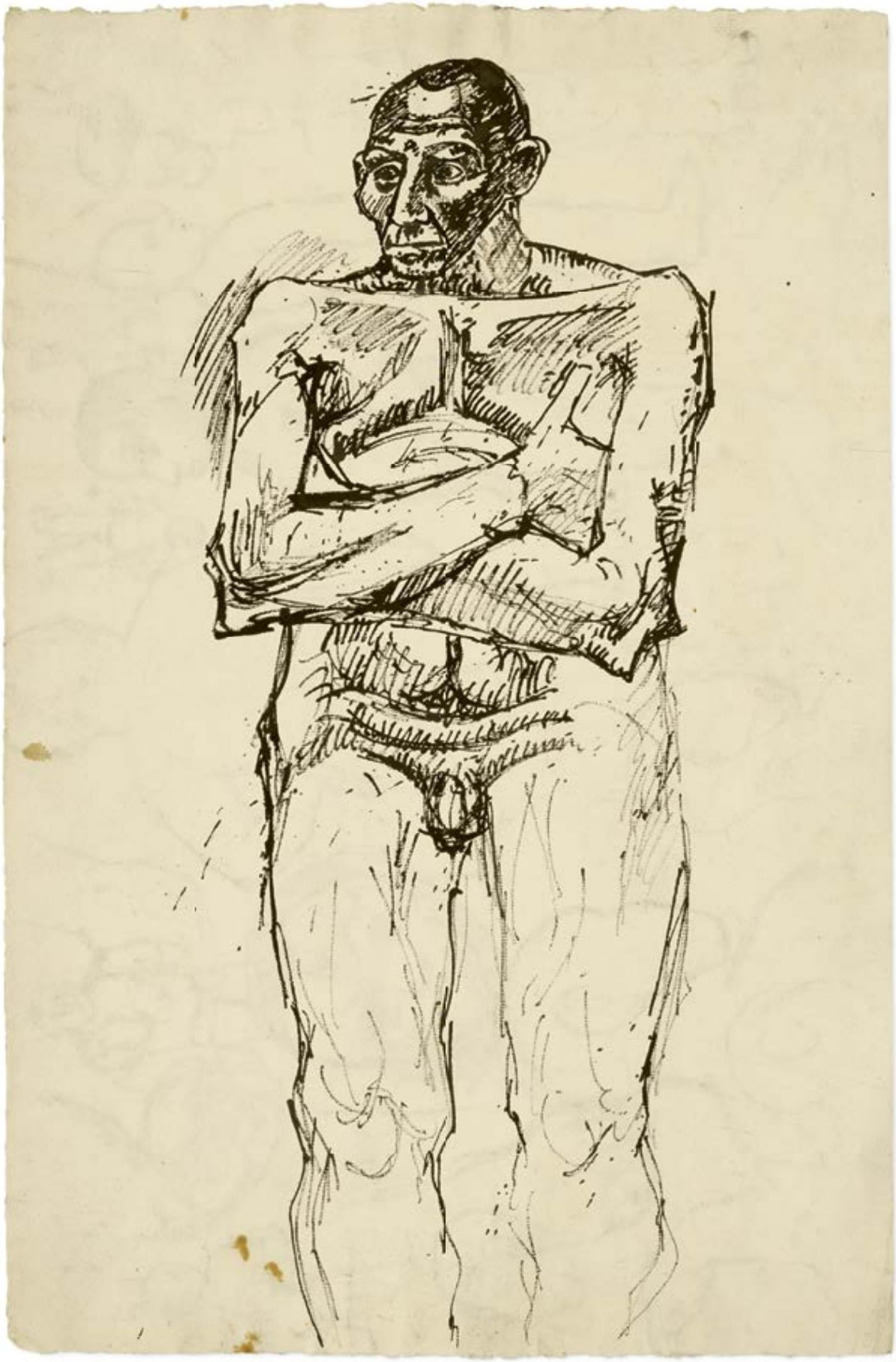
Portrait de Josep Fondevila
(Portrait of Josep Fondevila)
Spring–Summer 1906

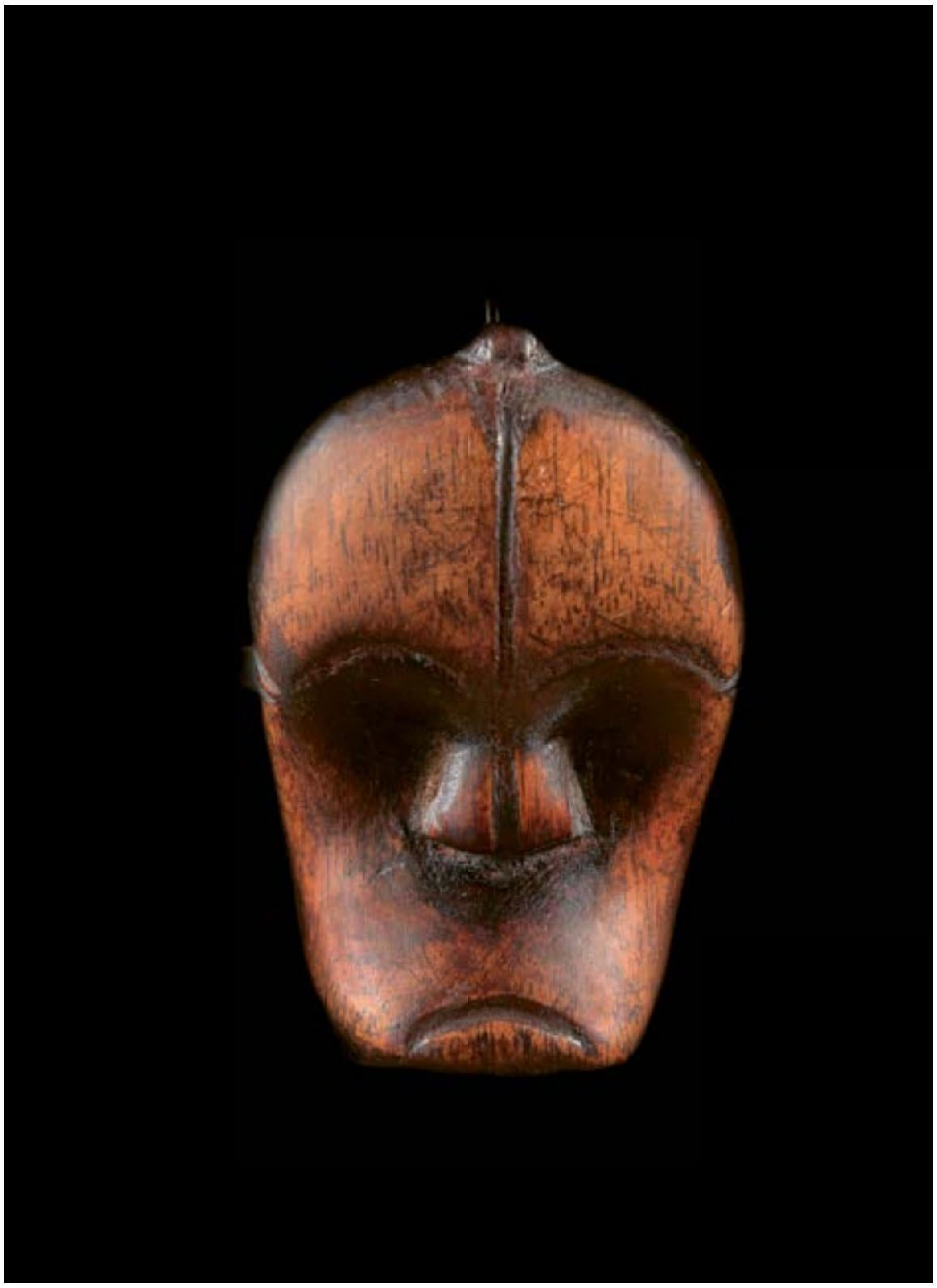


Head of a Man
Summer–Fall 1906

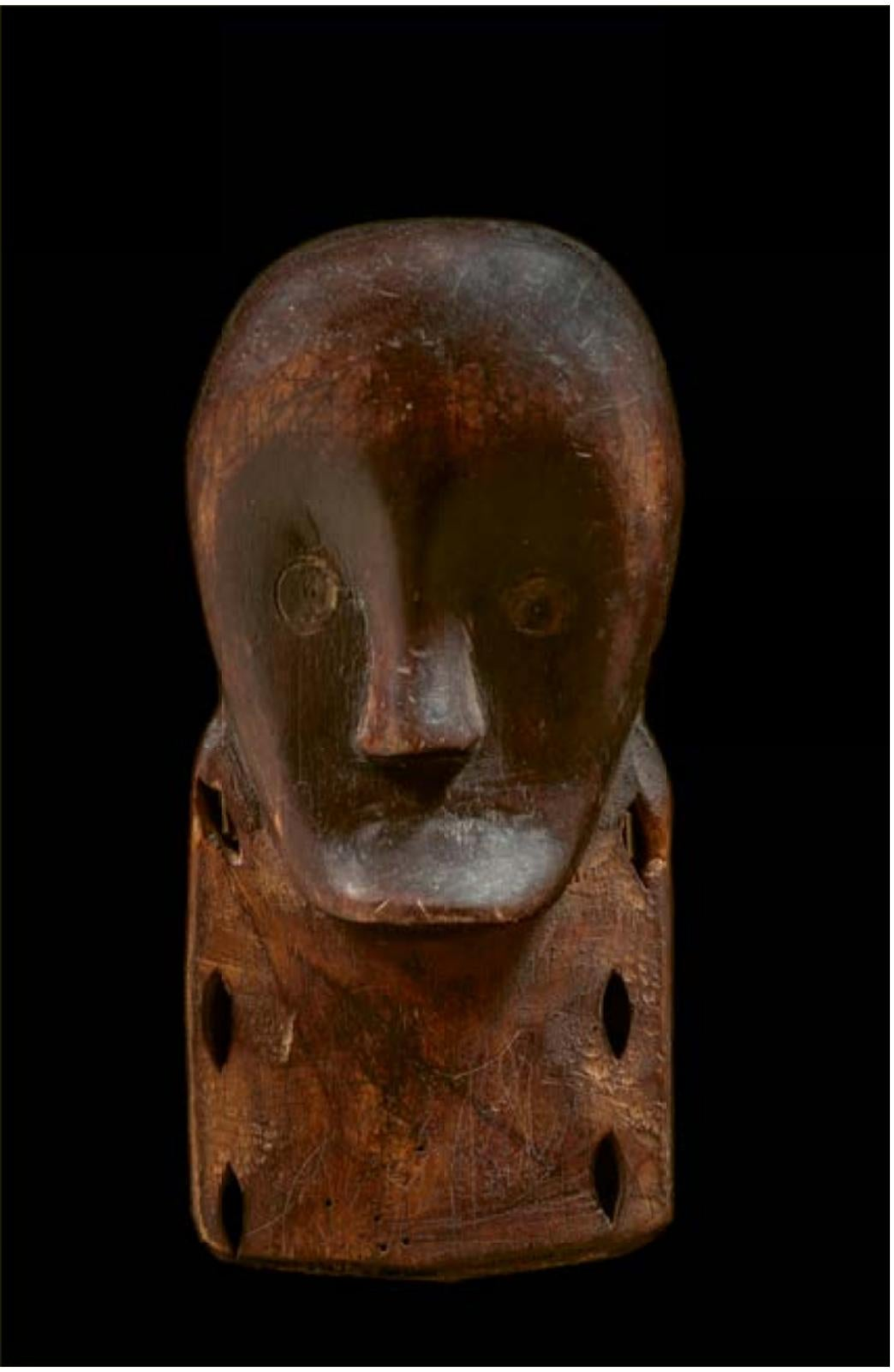


Josep Fondevila
Fall 1906

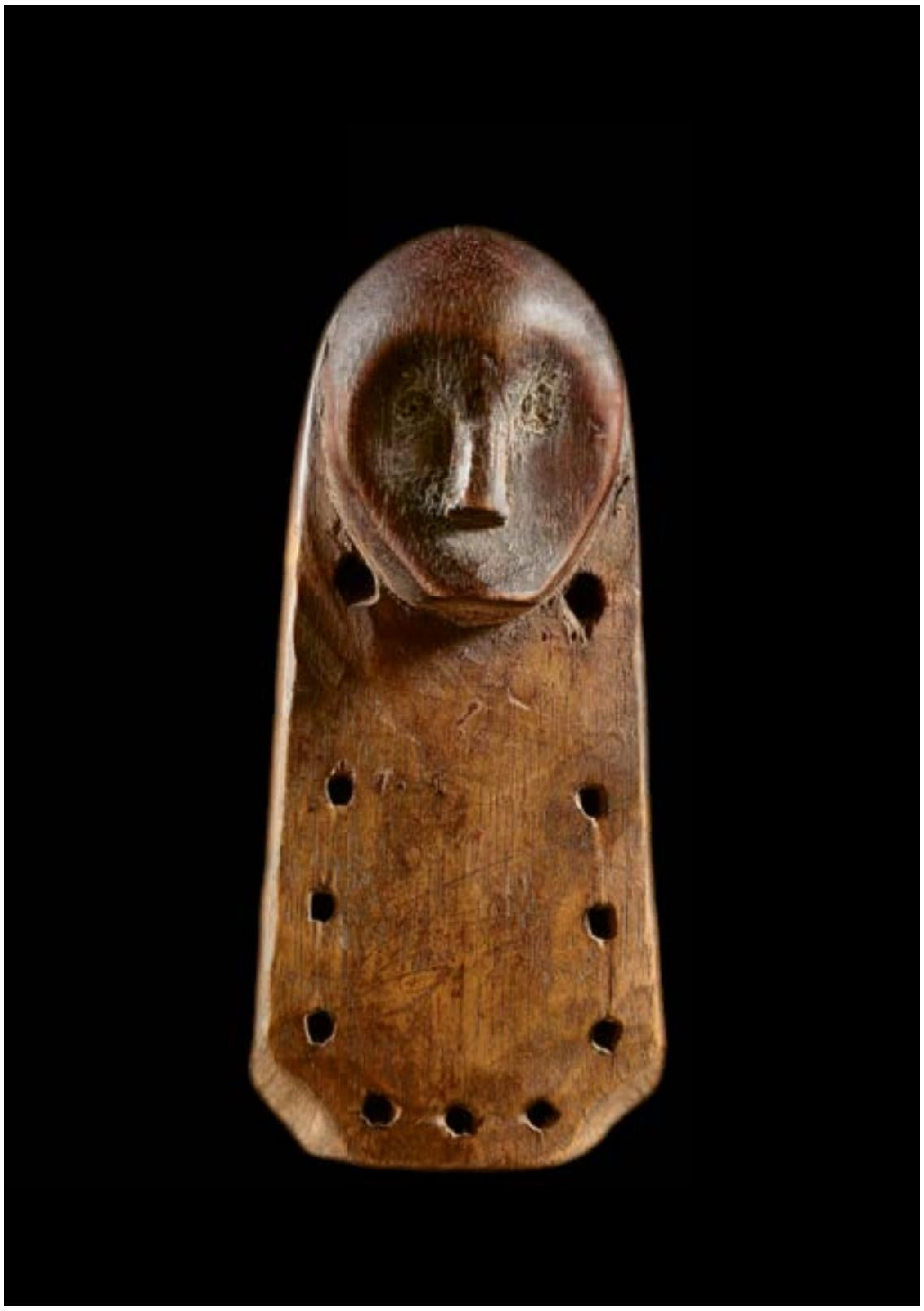




Unknown Author
Hanging mask
Fang culture
1st third of the 19th century

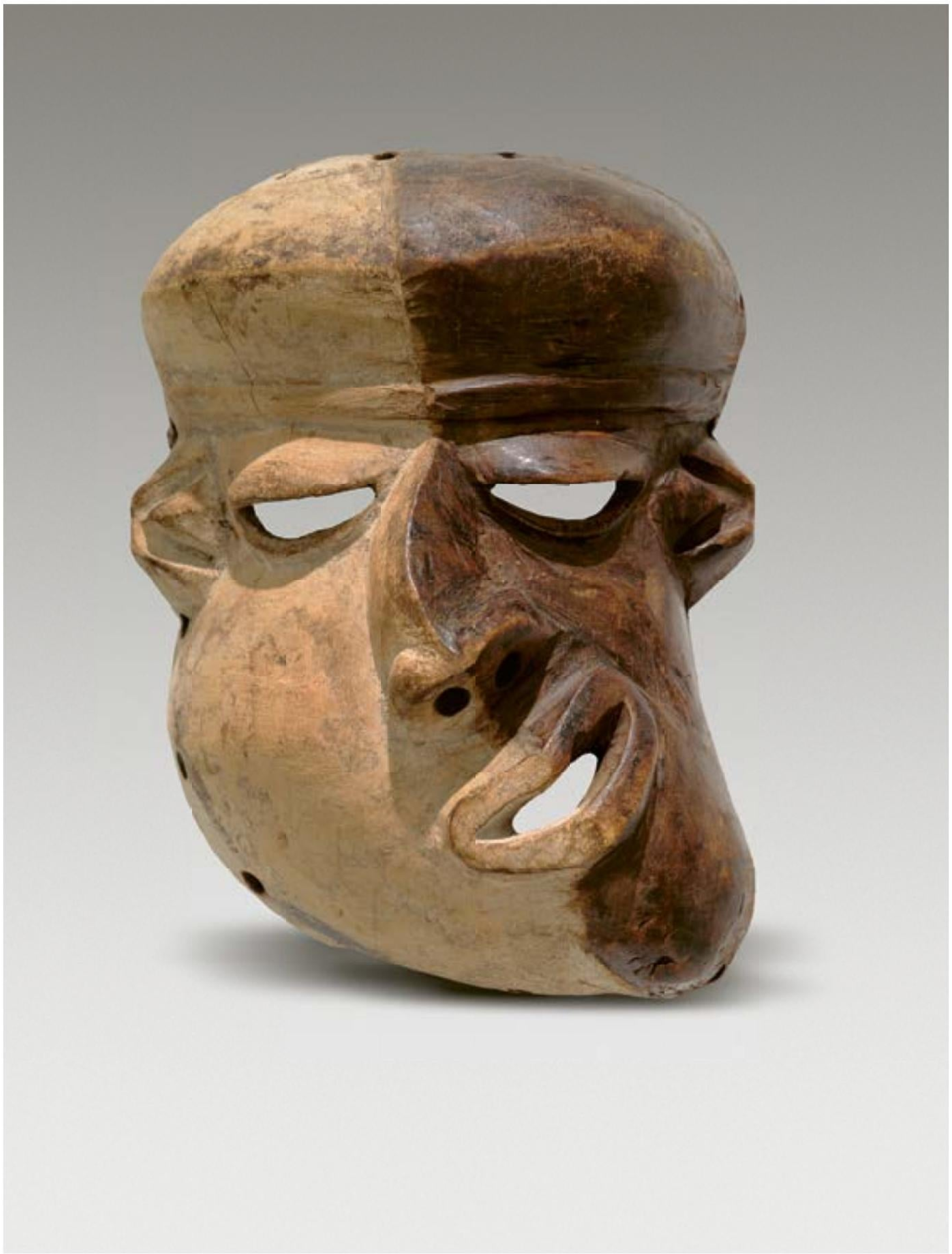


Unknown Author
Arm mask
Fang culture
Turn of the 19th to 20th century
or 1st third of the 20th century

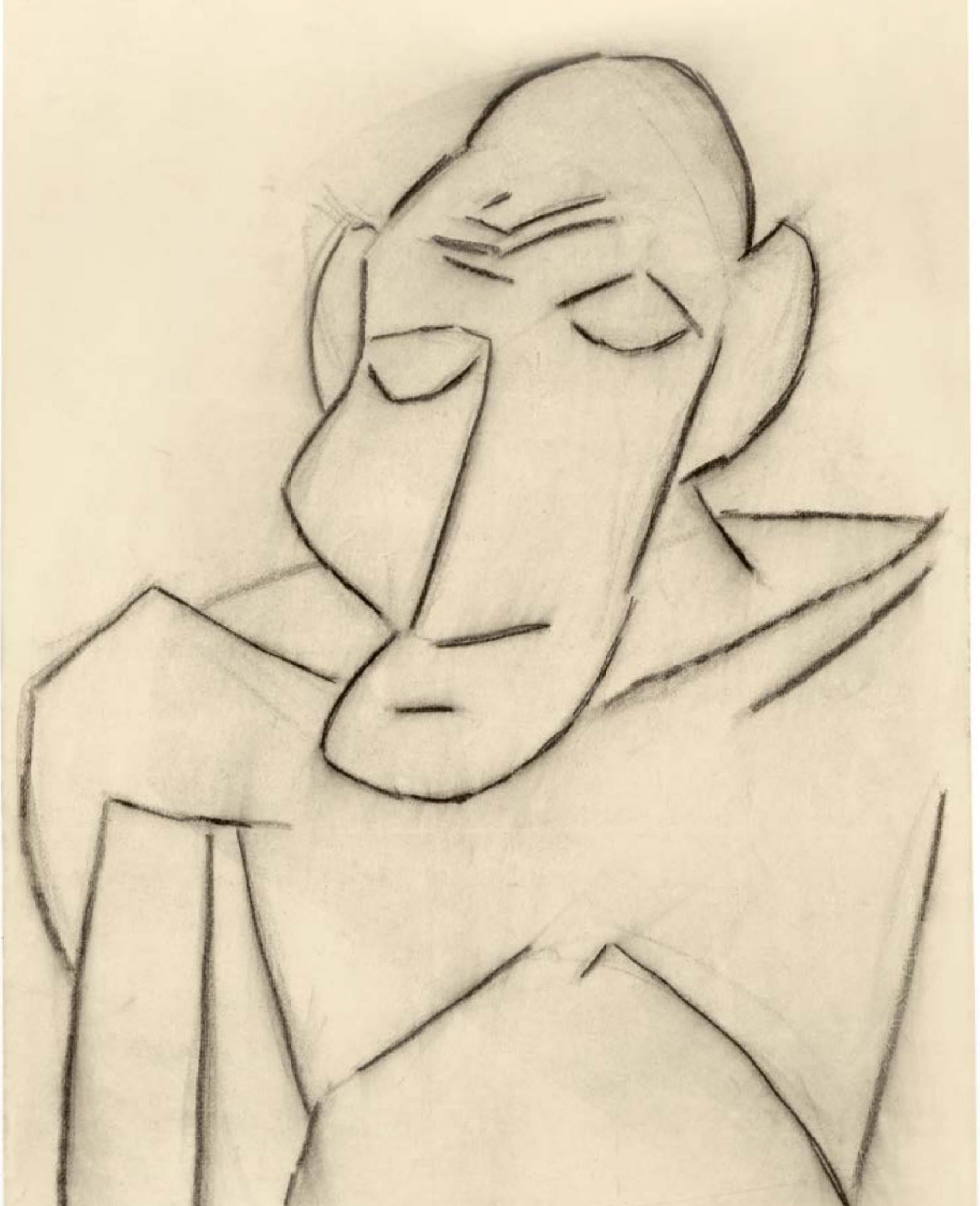


Unknown Author
Arm mask
Fang culture
Early 20th century

Unknown Author
Mask
Pende culture
Early 20th century



Portrait of André Salmon
1907

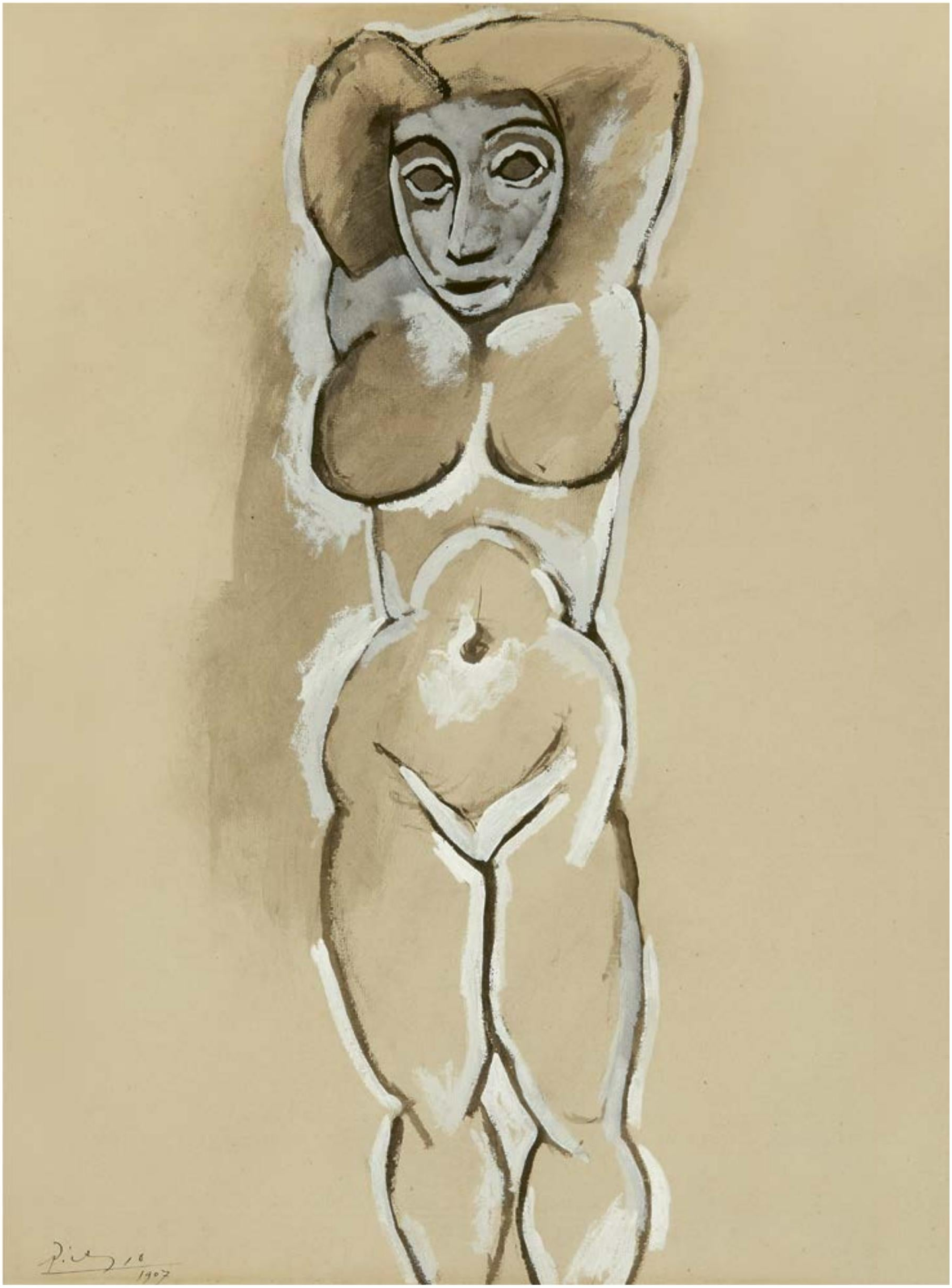


Survival

8

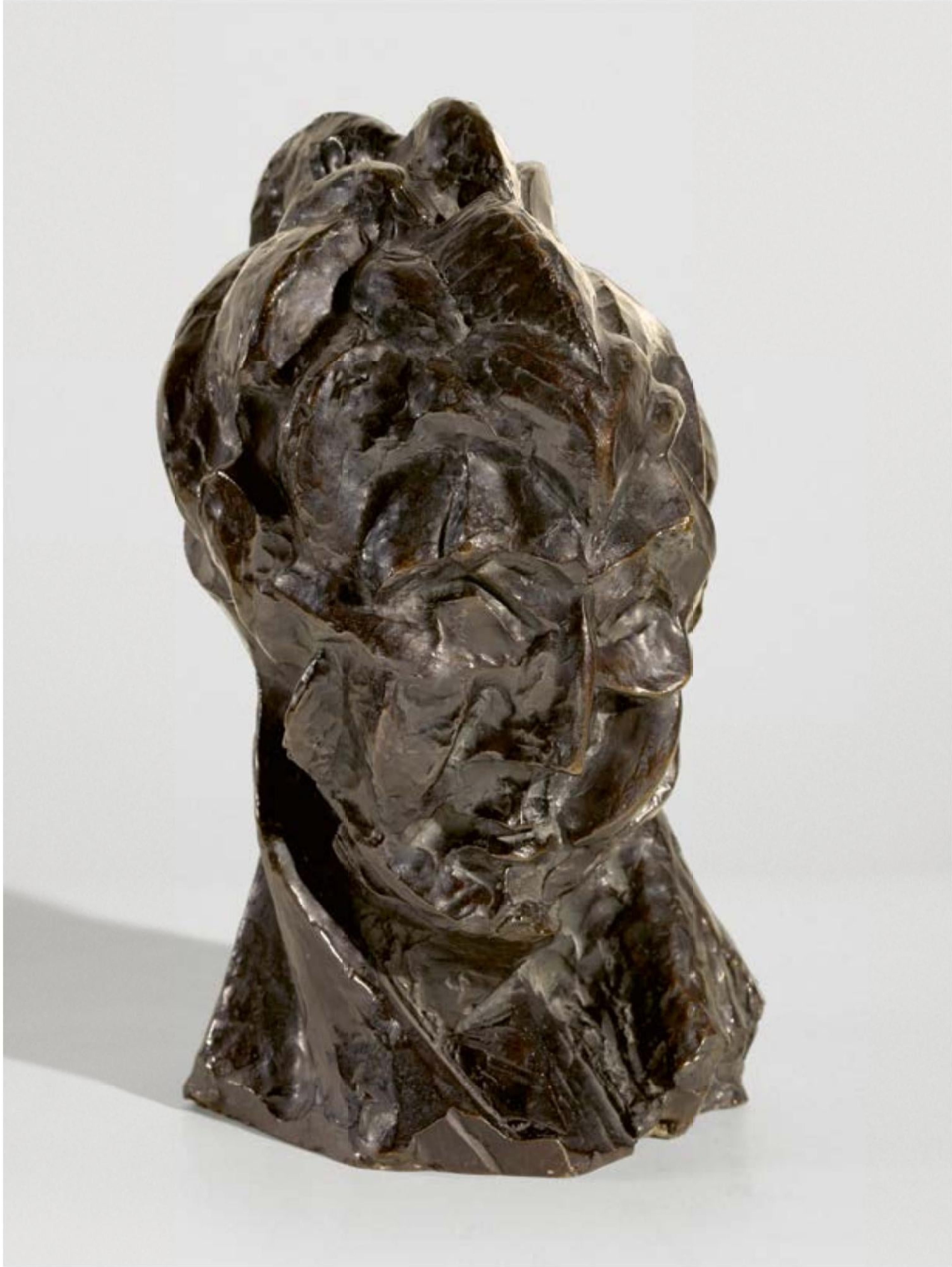
In his 1906 work, Picasso introduced innovations that would be critical in the history of European art and fostered a great number of intertextualities. But he also sought to cite himself through constant processes in which he reworked the meaning of his earlier art. Thus, for example, the Picasso of 1906 redirected the uses of color present in works from his youth, gave new meaning to his academic formation, and semantically shifted his earlier work's relationship with the nude. Similarly, visual and iconographic solutions he arrived at in 1906 would give rise to echoes and presences in his later work, even if the new historical context would grant them a different meaning. This section aims to conclude the journey through "Picasso 1906" by recalling the artist's ability to ensure the survival of his own artistic formulas. Invariably balanced between permanence and change, Picasso made of *Nachleben* an entire approach to understanding creation and the history of art.

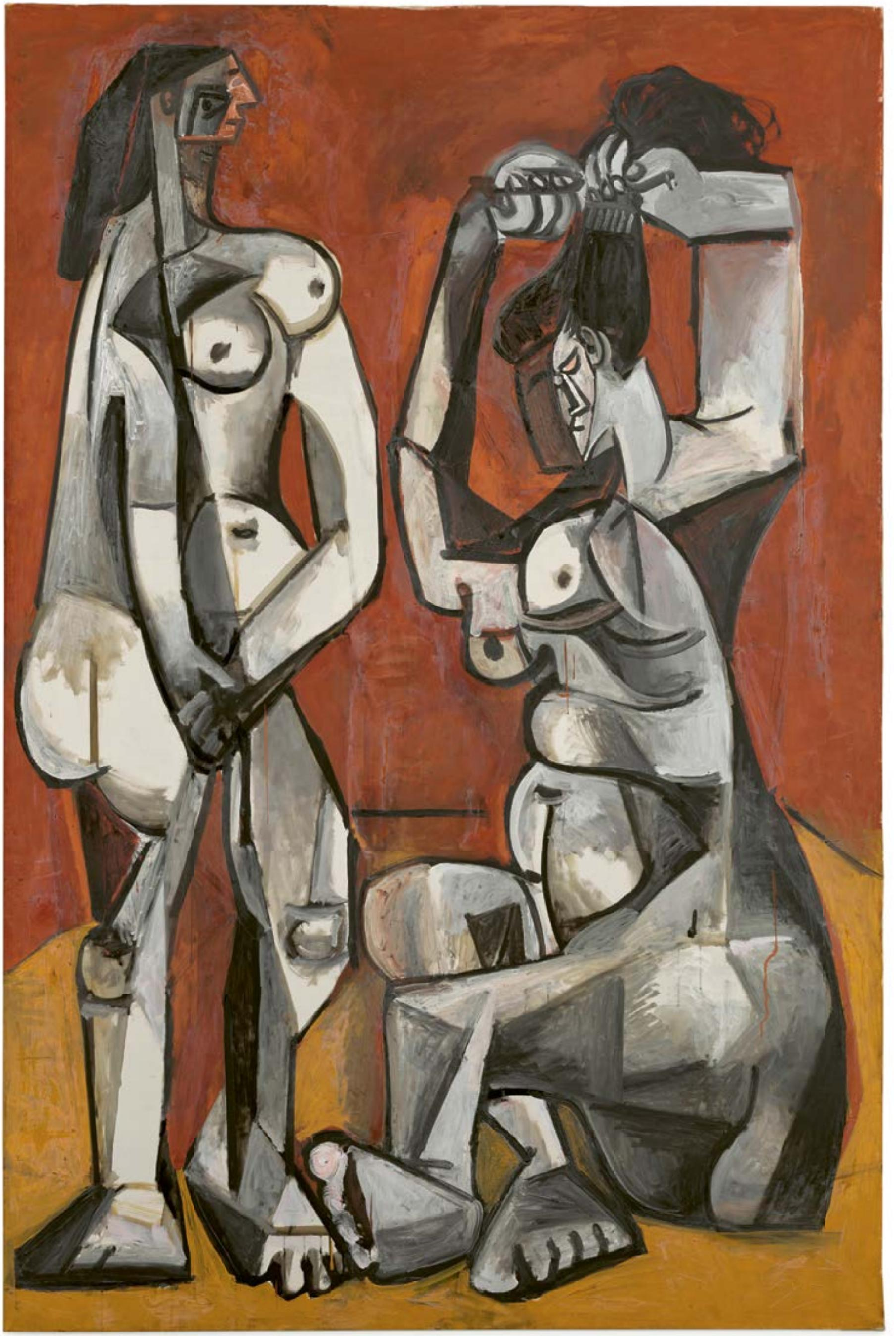
Female Nude with Arms Raised
1907


1907

Tête de femme (Fernande)
(Head of a Woman [Fernande])
Fall 1909

Femmes à la toilette
(Women at Their Toilette)
1956





Picasso 1906: Historiographic Turns

Pablo Rodríguez

To argue for the "Picasso of 1906" having a particular artistic and aesthetic identity means looking at his reflection in historiography. When we say "Picasso," we are not just referring to a set of works. We are also confronting the many gazes cast on the artist—gazes, narratives, and stories that make up an itinerary that this text, insofar as it is possible, seeks to follow.

Mistaken Beginnings

The story of "1906 Picasso" as a historiographical entity is the story of a premature death and a prolonged resurrection. It all began with a mistake that would inform studies on Picasso for decades. In 1932, in his first cataloguing project, Christian Zervos dated to 1905 several works that were in fact created in mid-1906, stating that they were made in Gósol, in the Catalan Pyrenees.[1] Picasso had correctly shared the location with Zervos but misstated the date. As a result, Zervos situated Picasso's stay in Gósol in an uncertain interval: from the final months of 1905 to 1906. According to this chronology, Picasso would have already elaborated his circus themes, had his Rose Period, and traveled to Holland; he would have cemented friendships with poets Max Jacob, Guillaume Apollinaire, and André Salmon, which would prove a creative stimulus. At that moment, in late 1905, Zervos marks the start of a

[1] Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 1: *Œuvres de 1895 à 1906* (Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1932), 36–39.

transformation culminating in mid-1906. The characteristics differentiating this shift would be the absence of sentimentalism, the prioritization of the visual form and its structural value, and the widespread use of pink tones. Thus, the confusion over origin and the mistaken dating are the basis on which the first narrative about 1906 is built.

“Classical,” “Archaic,” “Negro Art”

In 1939, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. would take Zervos’s assertions as the basis for the first canonical definition of the Rose Period. *Picasso: Forty Year of His Art* incorporates the 1932 timeline and attributes part of the development of the Rose Period to Picasso’s stay in Gósol: this established an equivalence between the period and the place.[2] The still-latent “1906 Picasso” was encapsulated in this initial perspective. Barr established a split in the Rose Period between two tendencies: work with a “classical” sensibility, inspired by Greek art, and “archaic” work characterized by voluminous figures and faces that appear to be masks. Although the two tendencies appear to diverge stylistically, the dates suggest that they developed simultaneously: they even share the terracotta rose tones for which the period was named.

It is interesting to analyze the underlying meaning in the structure of Barr’s argument and his system of headings. Picasso’s production from 1905 through late 1906 corresponds to the headings “The Rose Period,” “The Autumn Salon of 1905,” and “The ‘Negro’ Period: The Beginning of Cubism.” This provides the structure for the following chronological-artistic framing: the 1906 work, circumscribed in the Rose Period, is a prelude to the creative process of *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*. Barr traces an evolutionary line from mid-1906 to Cubism, but he inserts a controversial transformative element: Black African sculpture. It is surprising that in between the Rose Period (from late 1905 to mid-1906) and the “Negro” Period (from late 1906 to mid-1907), he would situate a landmark event that preceded both of them: the Autumn Salon of 1905. It is under this heading that he proposes the influence of “non-Western cultures” alongside that of the Fauves and Paul Cézanne. Through the Fauves, Picasso would come into contact with “exotic and primitive arts” and “African Negro sculpture.” Between 1906 and 1907, this knowledge of “Black art” would have a transformative effect: Barr felt it to be key in Picasso’s conception of *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon* and Cubism. The thesis of *Picasso: Forty Years of His Art* will maintain some validity in future narratives about 1906.

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[2] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., ed., *Picasso: Forty Years of His Art; With Two Statements by the Artist* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1939), 42–60.

The Iberian Revelation

"Picasso and Iberian Sculpture," by James Johnson Sweeney, will mark a narrative turning point: it is the first study to confirm the influence of Iberian sculpture on Picasso's work.[3] Sweeney's work is based on contextual, scholarly, cultural, and aesthetic criteria. But his arguments fundamentally rest on Picasso's statements to Christian Zervos in the spring of 1939.[4] Picasso recognized the decisive influence Iberian art had on him in 1906 and 1907, but he denied knowing being acquainted with African sculpture before creating *Les Demoiselles*. Within the global narrative on Picasso, Sweeney's text is the first historiographic refutation of the influence of African art in 1906 and 1907. In this telling, the "1906 Picasso" remains in the background as Sweeney's focus instead foregrounds, first, the influence of African art and, second, his analysis of *Les Demoiselles* in light of Iberian influence.

Regarding Iberian art, Sweeney argues for the impact of a new landmark event: the Louvre exhibition of archeological finds from Osuna held in spring 1906. This is where his interpretation of the influence and significance of the Autumn Salon of 1905 collides with Barr's thesis. The relatively greater impact of the exhibition of Iberian sculpture would minimize that of the Autumn Salon. After weighing Picasso's 1939 statements along with the Louvre exhibition, Sweeney argues that the artist had made a note of the Fauvist approach and, spurred on by a competitive impulse, set out on an individual journey in search of his own "primitive" source. This experience would lead to experimentation based on the properties of Iberian sculpture. Sweeney agrees with Barr regarding the dual stylistic tendencies of the Rose Period. But he also incorporates a twist in the plot: Iberian sculpture would be swallowed up by Picasso's "classicism" of late 1905. That is, the "archaic" tendency, tied to primitive sources—Iberian sculpture—would be metamorphosed through his classicism. This transformation would unfold beginning in late 1905 and throughout 1907. The series of works that best capture this change would be *Gertrude Stein*, *Two Nudes*, and *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. *Les Demoiselles* would represent the height of Picasso's experimentation with Iberian forms, always connected, according to Sweeney, to the notion of the "archaic" and "primitive."

Other Criteria

There is a notable shift in focus in the second volume of Christian Zervos's catalogue. It demonstrates a prophetic intercultural sensibility and a solid critical awareness of the importance of narrative. In line with commentary on Picasso's 1906 and 1907 production, he elaborates a profound reflection on the artist's creative nature. He focuses on two essential and problematic aspects: stylistic periodization and the idea of influence. Zervos notes that Picasso's production has been interpreted according to a coercive sort of logic: Barr's and Sweeney's analyses depended too heavily on evolutionary reasoning, based on the idea of progress and stylistic progression. Zervos, on the other hand, understands Picasso's work as a turbulent flow of interruptions, metamorphoses, retreats, and continuities. As a result, Picasso would throw into crisis the fictional convention of an "original style," in relation to both form and meaning. Instead, form and meaning would fluctuate throughout his work, disappear, and return with no warning.

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[3] James Johnson Sweeney, "Picasso and Iberian Sculpture," *The Art Bulletin* 23, no. 3 (1941): 191–98.

[4] These statements are published in Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 2: *Œuvres de 1906 à 1912* (Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1942).

Similarly, Zervos argues that Picasso's figurative thinking depends on his sense of process. And process would, moreover, be generative in Picasso's creation: over the exhausting course of his work, innovations would emerge. The notion of process in visual creation becomes key to understanding the tensions that emerge between borrowing and invention. Therefore, another decisive factor in Picasso's work is his ability to process and transform his visual referents. Zervos suggests that his handling of the dialectical relationship between invention and influence is one of the keys to Picasso's work. Furthermore, the influences shaping it have a dynamic, simultaneous effect: no one influence imposes itself exclusively. Denying the coetaneous effects of other stimuli would therefore be to trivialize the role that visual culture plays in his work. The paradigmatic example of this is the influence of fetishes and statues from Black Africa during the African Period.[5] Zervos rejects this idea: he refuses to allow that the impact of "Black art" could be a transformative factor, and he rejects the idea of it as an exclusive influence that acted to the exclusion of all else.

In one of his most vivid and evocative interventions, Zervos explains that in Picasso's work, the past—the cultural, visual, and artistic past—constitutes a vocabulary that is continually growing and that can be harnessed in countless syntactical combinations. Picasso's tireless work would thus express an awareness of the mnemonic and genealogical quality of the visual form. His indiscriminate and nonhierarchical search for new visual stimuli would take him across geographical frontiers and chronological barriers. Zervos uses this reflection to disentangle the meaning of the "classicism/primitivism" dichotomy. Aware of its fictitious nature, Picasso was no longer naïve about the notion of "the classical": he sensed that its creation was shaped by prejudice and convention. As a result, he would manipulate it and present it as just that, a fiction. And this is where "the primitive" comes into the process, the other side of the same coin. His predilection for "primitive" art would thus reflect his recognition of certain cultural and artistic forms in contrast to the hegemonic, traditional foundations of "the classical." Picasso thus incorporates certain motifs, both sculptural and sign-based, that had been relegated to a subaltern position by the course of history and art.

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[5] Barr, *Picasso: Forty Years*, 59.

A New Canon

In *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. will discard his earlier categorization and propose a new system.[6] Having identified the errors in Zervos's timeline, he takes another look at Picasso's 1905 and 1906 production. He assigns the majority of the 1905 works to a "circus" period and distributes his 1906 works among various periods. The Rose Period no longer makes an appearance, while in 1939 it had referred exclusively to the creative context of Gósol. Classicism, however, now has its own stylistic period: the "first classical period," from late 1905 through the summer of 1906. The Gósol work then is assigned to its own period: "Gósol: summer 1906." During that period, due to Iberian influence, classicism will develop into sculptural archaicism: the mask-like faces will appear.

Barr recognizes that the chronological confusion has not been resolved, and that it affects works as important as *Composition*, which is dated to 1905, but the preliminary sketches for it are tied to Gósol. *Composition* would reflect the dual influence of Cézanne and El Greco, references from 1906, parallel to Picasso's interest in Iberian sculpture. According to Barr, the formal aspects of *Composition* feature some of the first hints of Cubism: this work will therefore tie Picasso's 1906 experiences to Cubism and to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Under the heading "Toward Cubism: 1906–1908," Barr introduces the Autumn Salon, the recognition of the Fauves, and the influence of Cézanne, Black African sculpture, and "exotic" and "primitive" arts. In 1946, the Autumn Salon is no longer seen as important to the development of Picasso's 1906 production. But Barr does assign it a belated power: he delays its impact to 1907 and 1908. This is indicated by its new placement in the 1946 structure: "Toward Cubism: 1906–1908," followed by "The Autumn Salon of 1905: Les Fauves; Cézanne." In sum, Barr sides with Sweeney's hypothesis: he recognizes Picasso's rivalry with the Fauves, the influence of Iberian sculpture, and the absence of African influence on his art in 1906.

Picasso in Context

After several years of silence on the historiographic front, Phoebe Pool and Anthony Blunt will introduce methodological innovations in their study *Picasso, the Formative Years: A Study of His Sources*, which explores the cultural, ideological, and sociopolitical backdrop behind the young Picasso.[7] Covering 1896 to 1906, this study provides a wide overview with a zoomed-in examination of Picasso. Within the cultural environment they describe, the authors focus both on Picasso's more individual affinities—as seen in aesthetic ties to Apollinaire and Gertrude Stein—and on influences that pervaded the period—like the neoclassical turn of Jean Moreás and his École Romane. Pool and Blunt largely examine generational trends and what they have in common. They delve into the synergies shared by literary movements and visual arts. They also understand historical and cultural context as influencing thought and behavior: this shapes their view of Picasso's aesthetic criteria. The authors take a practical look at something Zervos had suggested in theoretical terms: Picasso's ability to work simultaneously with multiple influences.[8] They include exponentially more visual referents, presented according to Picasso's logic of accumulation.[9] *The Formative Years* includes aspects that will be relevant to future studies of "1906": contact with anarcho-libertarian doctrines, the influence of Catalan culture, and the budding *noucentista* sensibility. The book also considers the role played by those closest to Picasso: Fernande Olivier, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Gertrude Stein. Pool and Blunt combine various historiographic perspectives, bringing together every one of the periodizations and categories employed in the earlier narratives. And while Picasso's experience in Gósol is framed as a transition between 1905 and late 1906, the authors highlight for the first time the influence of the landscape and the area's inhabitants. They even underscore the significance of the *Catalan Carnet*, which went unmentioned in earlier narratives. Picasso's formative production, then, is understood to have reached its peak in Gósol.

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[6] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., ed., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946), 35–54.

[7] Anthony Blunt and Phoebe Pool, *Picasso, the Formative Years: A Study of His Sources* (London: Studio Books, 1962).

Rebirth

It is in 1966 that "1906 Picasso" becomes its own entity.[10] Pierre Daix's assessment in "1906, The Year of the Great Turning Point" produces a major historiographic turn: 1906 will mark the moment when Picasso achieves plastic modernity. Overlooked and possessing only an ancillary value in earlier narratives, the "1906 Picasso" will now take center stage in discussions of his work. The reason for this narrative turn is the correction of Christian Zervos's timeline: works mistakenly dated to 1905 are returned to 1906.[11] With this change, the years' roles will swap places. The year 1905 will take on the role played by "1906" in thirty years' worth of historiography: Picasso's 1905 production is now viewed as a transition stage from which a fully formed Picasso will emerge. Another result of this shift in the timeline is that more works are now attributed to Picasso's time in Gósol, narrowed down to a period between May and mid-August 1906. Finally, the "1906 Picasso" will merge in an embrace with the other Picasso reaching his peak: the "Picasso of Gósol." In Pierre Daix's version of events, Picasso's experience in Gósol is what makes nearly all of that crucial, decisive year's work make sense.

The change in the chronology gives rise to a significant change in values. However, broadly speaking, Pierre Daix preserves and builds on Barr's thematic and

[8] Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, 2:44–49.

[9] The visual references cited for the years 1905 and 1906 (the study goes as far back as 1896) include: the Louvre as a source of visual materials, the arts of antiquity, Gauguin, Puvis de Chavannes, Seurat, Van Dyck, Rubens, Odilon Redon, and El Greco.

[10] Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille, *Picasso 1900–1906. Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint. Catalogue établi avec la collaboration de Joan Rosselet* (Lausanne: Ides et Calendes, 1966); Eng.: *Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods; A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, 1900–1906* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1967).

[11] Zervos, *Picasso*, 1:36–39.

stylistic organization from 1946. He cites four creative periods in 1906, all tied to Picasso's time in Gósol. The first, which developed between Paris and Gósol, is a "classical" period that returns to the art of the Mediterranean past: this period is represented by *The Watering Place* and the nude young men in that work. The second period, in Gósol, evolves out of the preceding classicism and addresses the female nude: Fernande Olivier is the main model that Picasso is most drawn to in this period. Having exhausted classicism, Picasso moves onto to a third period focused on the landscape and inhabitants of Gósol: the land there is what produces his ochre-toned palette. The final period unfolds during his last days in Gósol and his return to Paris: this is the decisive transformation that emerges from his experimentation. It is shaped by Picasso's experiences in Gósol, by his familiarity with Iberian sculpture, and by ideas put forth in works by El Greco and Cézanne. The main characteristics of this fourth period, captured in *Composition: The Peasants*, will lead to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*: the deformation and stylization of the figures and the transformation of their faces into masks. This allows Daix to describe the Gósol period as "pre-Cubist." Pre-Cubism is the crucial point at which "1906 Picasso" sparks the genesis of modern art. This dual narrative is made up of the following parts: classicism, primitivism, the Picasso of Gósol, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, and Cubism. Daix minimizes the impact of French literary trends with an interest in Mediterranean antiquity. That literature will have a minimal impact compared to the "great event" of late 1905: the *cage aux fauves* in the Autumn Salon. The consecration of the Fauve painters will be the decisive element in setting Picasso on his own path: that of 1906. We would not be able to understand the transformation in his work were it not for his competition with André Derain and, especially, Henri Matisse. For Daix, French painting in the second half of the nineteenth century also nourishes Picasso's conquest of modernity.[12]

The Numen of Gósol

After "1906, The Year of the Great Turning Point," another great narrative gap emerges. Twenty-two years will go by until Josep Palau i Fabre dedicates three chapters to 1906.[13] In *Picasso: The Early Years, 1881–1907*, Palau presents an exceptional perspective on this year. Exceptional because it deviates from the line of argumentation that, with slight digressions, had been followed since 1932. If in 1966 the reborn "1906 Picasso" embraced the emerging "Picasso of Gósol," in 1980 the "Picasso of Gósol" will overtake "1906 Picasso." With that, Gósol is firmly established as Picasso's independent creative period. Palau's perspective is also exceptional because of what is present in it and what is absent. These absences possess a powerful historiographical status that a defiant Palau does not feel beholden to: the notion of

[12] Ingres, Puvis de Chavannes, Gauguin, Cézanne, Matisse, and Derain will be the main points of reference Pierre Daix calls attention to.

[13] Josep Palau i Fabre, *Picasso vivo (1881–1907): infancia y primera juventud de un demiurgo* (Barcelona: Polígrafa, 1980), 394–485; Eng.: *Picasso: The Early Years, 1881–1907*, trans. Kenneth Lyons (New York: Rizzoli, 1981).

"the primitive," the influence of Iberian sculpture, the impact of the Fauves and Cézanne. The major presences in *Picasso: The Early Years* are the influence of the Catalan context and the environment of Gósol. Palau sees Gósol as a sort of living organism that interacts with Picasso and breathes life into him.

The underlying logic of the three chapters dedicated to "1906 Picasso" is determined by his experience in Gósol. Palau posits a pre-Gósol Picasso, a Gósol Picasso, and a post-Gósol Picasso. His pre-Gósol works were created in Paris during the spring and summer of 1906: the visual solution of the mask, the structural simplification of the figures, the reflections on the nude body, the adolescents with a melancholy air, the arcadian settings. Four strands come together and occasionally are combined in his Gósol works: a telluric tendency, influenced by the village surroundings; an arcadian element; a Mediterranean classical tendency, tied to Catalan Mediterraneanism; and an updated classicism, which is a synthesis of the telluric elements and Mediterranean classicism. Palau argues that the ochre tones in Picasso's Gósol palette were inspired by the roofs of houses in the village. He also recognizes the key role of Fernande Olivier: her nude body is at the center of many diverse works. Palau draws attention to Josep Fondevila, the innkeeper where Picasso stayed in Gósol: the artist will begin a line of experimentation based on a morphology of Fondevila that will extend well into 1907; at the same time, some of Picasso's figures will reflect distortions inspired by El Greco. Moreover, Palau identifies proto-Cubist elements in *Houses in Gósol*, which he attributes to the rhythmic configuration of the simplified blocks and their structural arrangement. In Paris during the fall of 1906, the post-Gósol Picasso will unfold on the basis of the Gósol images. For example, *Gertrude Stein* comes together using the mask of Josep Fondevila. And Picasso's self-portraits are inspired both by Fondevila and the Romanesque features of the Virgin of Gósol: Palau incorporates the Romanesque influence into the narrative about 1906. Finally, he extends a lengthy genealogical line that will connect *The Harem* and *Three Nudes* with the ideas first put forth in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.

Art and Biography

John Richardson's monumental work, *A Life of Picasso*, will be viewed in subsequent historiography as the apex of Picasso scholarship.[14] Its singularity lies in Richardson's incisive analysis combined with his use of an astounding number of documentary sources, specialist studies, historiographical references, and biographical testimonies. He also uses anecdotes about Picasso's life in his interpretations and as a powerful narrative device. Richardson skillfully brings together the rigors of research and the basic principles of the art of the novel. The result is a powerful and attractive narrative. But how does this telling of Picasso's story fit within the global narrative of 1906? With *A Life of Picasso*, the main subplots developed up until this point will be definitively set in place: classical Picasso, Gósol Picasso, primitive Picasso, Picasso and *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, pre-Cubist Picasso. All coexist and interact in Richardson's version of events.

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[14] John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 1: *1881–1906* (New York: Random House, 1991).

Still, he manages to introduce notable variations into the debate about the influences Picasso took on in 1906. He argues that, between 1905 and 1907, Gauguin was a determining factor on several fronts. His profound influence will permeate all of Picasso's 1906 production. Similarly, he places more weight on the rivalry with Matisse and its visual repercussions. And the effects of Catalan Romanesque sculpture prevail over the influence of Iberian sculpture. Richardson argues that the influence of Iberian sculpture appears in late 1906 and throughout 1907, not before. Cézanne's impact would come later. Richardson posits links with Édouard Manet, and, among other "classical" sources, he cites the influence of Ingres as equal to that of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. Picasso's interest in Puvis would be heightened thanks to the anarchist writer Mécislas Golberg.

In this version of things, the classicism/primitivism dichotomy is captured in the syncretic spirit with which Picasso incorporated sources from antiquity. Whether this influence is thanks to strolls through the galleries of the Louvre or images on postcards or reproduced in books, Picasso will incorporate aspects of archaic or classical Greek art, as well as Roman, Egyptian, and Phoenician art.[15] Richardson mentions, as an "exotic" source, the cast of a Javanese sculpture that could be found in Au Lapin Agile, the cabaret Picasso frequented with his friends. Gauguin's contributions also play a part in this "classical/primitive" duality: Richardson draws an eloquent parallel between his *Riders on the Beach* and *The Watering Place*, the epitome of Picasso's classicism. He compares the artist's "purifying" experience in Gósol to Gauguin's time in Tahiti, described in *Noa Noa*, and Picasso is inspired by Gauguin's sculptures carved out of boxwood, as well as his experiments in xylography. When Picasso returns to Paris in fall of 1906, he will latch onto *Oviri* and other ceramics by Gauguin as models for his own clay sculptures.

The year 1991 also sees the emergence of a question that had barely been addressed prior: the androgyny of some of Picasso's figures.[16] Androgyny appears throughout Picasso's work from 1905 to 1907, taking two different forms. Either by omitting male and female sexual characteristics, or by superposition, that is, feminizing the male body or masculinizing the female body. Richardson associates androgyny with the fin de siècle aesthetics surrounding the beliefs of Sâr Péladan, writer, occultist, and cofounder of the Mystic Order of the Rose + Croix. Péladan considered androgyny to be the ideal visual form. Richardson also associates androgyny with the physical features of Karl-Heinz Wiegels, a homosexual German painter who suffered a breakdown, and a friend of Picasso's

[15] Anne Baldassari establishes a relationship between the poses of some of the 1906 figures and the ethnographic postcards and photographs that Picasso kept in his personal archive. See Anne Baldassari, *Le Miroir noir. Picasso, sources photographiques, 1900–1928* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997); Eng.: *Picasso and Photography: The Dark Mirror* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997).

[16] Building on Richardson's arguments, Hans Christoph von Tavel studies the question of androgyny and sexual ambiguity. See Hans Christoph von Tavel, "Man and Woman in Picasso's Work in 1905 and 1906," in *Picasso 1905–1906: From the Rose Period to the Ochres of Gósol*, ed. María Teresa Ocaña and Hans Christoph von Tavel, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Museu Picasso; Ajuntament de Barcelona; Electa, 1992), 89–96.

during his time in Bateau-Lavoir. It is possible that his appearance inspired some of the young boys that appear in his 1905–06 production. Gauguin is cited as another possible influence in this regard. In *Noa Noa*, according to Richardson, he describes the androgynous *Māhūs* as "effeminate males whom Tahitians raise as women from infancy."[17] Richardson also ties androgyny to the figure of Gertrude Stein during autumn of 1906 in Paris, calling the monumental nudes from the second half of that year "Steinian." He states that Picasso felt Stein's strong character and liberal nature to be masculine characteristics. Her role as an emancipated woman and her rotund figure would be references in Picasso's development of these nudes, as ambiguous as they were powerful. Along the same lines as this notion of the duality of gender, Richardson argues that the masterful lines of the Fondevila mask, combined with certain Ingres-inspired elements, would help Picasso to resolve *Gertrude Stein*.

The Penultimate Turn

In order to fully grasp the meaning of the critical studies that would follow Richardson's book, we must go back to 1988, the year of a major exhibition on *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* and the creative process behind it, still considered the most complete exhibition on the piece.[18] An exhaustive catalogue was published to accompany the exhibition, and it would establish the new prevailing narrative on *Les Demoiselles*. Its three key texts transformed the interpretative discourse surrounding the work: Leo Steinberg's "The Philosophical Brothel,"[19] William Rubin's "The Genesis of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*," and Pierre Daix's "L'histoire des *Demoiselles d'Avignon* révisé à l'aide des carnets de Picasso." Inevitably, these authors' arguments also shaped future approaches to "1906" both in a chronological sense—in 1988 the point of departure that will lead to *Les Demoiselles* is situated between Picasso's stay in Gósol and autumn of 1906—and in an interpretative sense—*Les Demoiselles* will be deciphered on the basis of a symbolic and dynamic understanding of its meaning. It will be analyzed along with its internal creative context, and that analysis will delve into its erotic context and sexual metaphors. This vigorous emphasis on iconology will quash a supposition that had, until then, been stubbornly resilient: the creation of *Les Demoiselles* is now, temporally, decoupled from the invention of Cubism. Although John Richardson incorporates some of the ideas introduced in 1988, the change brought about by the absolutist discourse on *Les Demoiselles* becomes fully apparent in 1992. Pierre Daix will signal this penultimate narrative turn. It is helpful, therefore, to reconsider his arguments. In 1966, he assigned a creative identity to 1906 and situated proto-Cubism in that year. In 1988, the same year that the exhibition catalogue for *Les Demoiselles* was published,

[17] Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, 340.

[18] Hélène Seckel, ed., *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, vol. 1, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée Picasso; Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988).

[19] Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel," in Seckel, *Les Demoiselles*, 319–65. Originally published in *Art News* 71, no. 5 (September 1972): 20–29; vol. 71, no. 6 (October 1972): 37–47. The text will be most widely read in the 1988 catalogue *The Philosophical Brothel*, published with some amendments and an epilogue penned in 1987.

the 1966 catalogue raisonné (*Picasso 1900–1906*) was rereleased. In a brief preface, Daix says nothing of proto-Cubism and carries on with the topic of “primitivism.”[20] At the same time, in “Les carnets 1 et 2 ou le passage du thème des femmes nues au bain à celui du salon de bordel” (1988), Daix underscores the “primitivist” continuity between 1906 and *Les Demoiselles*. Four years later, Daix will entirely change his argument: in 1992, “The Year of the Great Turning Point” will become “The Years of the Great Transformation.”[21] The same author who had studied Picasso’s 1906 production and seen in it “The Birth of Cubism,” now grants that year’s work a decidedly liminal place in the overarching *Les Demoiselles* discourse and does not mention Cubism even once. The premises set out in 1988 will resonate in *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*. The catalogue includes two critical studies on the artist’s 1906 production. Each one is located at either extreme regarding the embryonic development of *Les Demoiselles*. At one extreme (spring–summer 1906), “Picasso in Gósol: The Calm Before the Storm,” an essay by Robert Rosenblum that focuses on the works Picasso produced during his stay in Gósol.[22] At the other extreme (fall 1906), “Representing the Body in 1906” by Margaret Werth, which is centered on an analysis of *Two Nudes*.[23] Rosenblum perpetuates the formal parameters of “early Cubism,” but, in contrast to the pre-1988 historiography, his attempts to pin down proto-Cubism do not intersect with a retrospective reading of *Les Demoiselles*. He instead returns to the entrenched comparison between *The Harem* and Ingres’ *Turkish Bath*: he sees in the latter a transgressive conception of space that could have been of interest to Picasso. He views influences rooted in “the peninsular” as reflecting Picasso’s sense of national consciousness upon returning to Spain and as compatible with influences from the Catalan sociocultural context.[24] Rosenblum also delves into the erotic/sexual content of some of the Gósol works. He points out the symbolic dimension of the phallic *porrón*—in *The Harem* and *Three Nudes*. But the libidinal undercurrent will be more pronounced in his analysis of the nude boys: the insinuation in their poses and the eroticization of their gestures, alongside their androgynous features, point to fin de siècle works in which classical models are channeled through a Symbolist sensibility.[25] Margaret Werth’s focus is substantially different from Rosenblum’s. She interprets *Two Nudes* as a key experimental project that separates the transformations in Picasso’s work in Gósol from *Les Demoiselles*. She analyzes the work while studying the appearance of its defining features in works throughout 1906.[26] She is interested in the contradictions between its sculptural form and its signifiers, which essentially allude to the representation of the body and of space. Werth calls this “masking”: in a single representative act, masking combines the figurative and nonfigurative, figuration and disfiguration, materialization and corporeal dematerialization, fictional volume and pictorial flatness, male signifiers and female ones. In her account, masking in *Two Nudes*, along with the figures' gestures and body language, makes explicit the diacritical configuration of the image and its dual pictorial dimension, as fictional as it is real.

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[20] In 1984, the exhibit *“Primitivism” in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, at MoMA, September 1984–January 1985, sparked an important conversation about primitivism. See William Rubin, ed., *“Primitivism” in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, exh. cat. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984).

[21] Pierre Daix, “The Years of the Great Transformation,” in Ocaña and von Tavel, *Picasso 1905–1906*, 29–49.

[22] Robert Rosenblum, “Picasso in Gósol: The Calm Before the Storm,” in *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*, ed. Marilyn McCully, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 263–75.

[23] Margaret Werth, “Representing the Body in 1906,” in McCully, *Picasso*, 277–87.

[24] Namely, El Greco, Goya, Iberian sculpture, and Catalan Romanesque sculpture.

[25] Rosenblum suggests Wilhelm von Gloeden and Guglielmo Plüschow’s homoerotic photography as an influence. See Rosenblum, “Picasso in Gósol,” 272–73.

[26] *The Harem*; *Three Nudes*; *Nude Combing Her Hair*; *Two Youths*; *Woman with Child and Goat*; *Self-Portrait with Palette*; *Man, Woman, and Child*; *La Coiffure*; *Gertrude Stein*; *Seated Nude*.

Final Perspectives

In the last decade of the twentieth century, several interpretations of the Picasso of 1906–07 would unfold following new discourses that emerged after poststructuralist theory. For example, Patricia Leighten would argue that Picasso was crafting a fierce sociopolitical and cultural critique through his allusions to "primitivism."[27] In line with the anarchist sensibilities of the Parisian avant-garde, Picasso would denounce colonial abuses through the radical subversion of the canons of European art. From a queer perspective, Robert Lubar identifies a shift in Picasso's subjectivity that will reverberate throughout his (androgynous, ambiguous) paintings from the summer of 1906.[28] The most powerful expression of this will be the mask of *Gertrude Stein*, which Lubar interprets as a result of the symbolic tensions between the portraitist's heterosexual identity and Stein's homosexual identity. Finally, Natasha Staller's analysis will be based on Picasso's underlying cultural identity: forged in Andalusia, this identity is profoundly hybrid, shaped by the complex cultural relationships between southern Spain and Africa.[29] His identity would thus set him apart from his French contemporaries, and it would explain his irreverent consumption and metamorphosis of Western culture and his interest in the artistic expression of subaltern cultures. In fact—and this is another distinguishing aspect of his work for Staller—Picasso's sociocultural identity would make him subaltern upon his arrival in Paris in relation to French culture.

Gósol and Modern Painting

In *Picasso en Gósol, 1906: un verano para la modernidad*, Jèssica Jaques Pi argues for Picasso's summer experience in the town of Berguedà as the painter's first modern moment.[30] She points to a prevailing issue: the tendency to refer to the "Rose Period" broadly minimized the relevance of Gósol. Even though the Rose Period has been shown to be an insufficient stylistic designation, it is still used today in exhibitions and scholarly circles. Jaques Pi's methodology is based on a comprehensive study of Picasso's creative process: she sees certain experimental characteristics, which are driven by the artist's aesthetic goals, as leading to visual solutions that produce a key or landmark work, which is then surrounded by a constellation of experimental and preparatory works. In terms of naming categories of work, she follows the groupings in use since 1966. But Jaques Pi also introduces some new interpretations. "Naturalism," in her estimation, reflects an unfruitful approach and does not generate aesthetic innovation. "Classicism" provides a foundation for experimentation: these works predate Picasso's time in Gósol. "Primitivism" gives rise to his more radical production. The Catalan Romanesque influence is at the heart of Picasso's primitivism, and the influence of Gauguin, Iberian sculpture, and the particular aspects of Gósol (women's traditional kerchiefs and Josep Fondevila's facial features) all revolve around it.

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[27] Patricia Leighten, "The White Peril and *L'Art nègre*: Picasso, Primitivism, and Anticolonialism," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (1990): 609–30.

[28] Robert Lubar, "Unmasking Pablo's Gertrude: Queer Desire and the Subject of Portraiture," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (1997): 57–84.

[29] Natasha Staller, *A Sum of Destructions: Picasso's Cultures and the Creation of Cubism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[30] Jèssica Jaques Pi, *Picasso en Gósol, 1906: un verano para la modernidad* (Madrid: A. Machado Libros, 2007).

The overarching paradigm in Jaques Pi's work is visual modernity seen through a formalist lens. Her narrative focuses on the specificity of Picasso's artistic medium, in which the aesthetic embrace of abstraction is a latent force. As a result, she characterizes his modern works as lacking a narrative—or a mimetic drive—and as celebrating their own visual values. Picasso would employ various strategies to emphasize the fictional nature of his painting, thus confirming the autonomy of painting as a medium: this includes his use of iconographic "types," a *non finito* poetics, and ochre as a way to revitalize the palette.[31] She argues that the reasons for his monochrome ochre palette, perfect for outlining and simplifying figures, are purely pictorial. Ochre becomes a sort of chromatic metonym, tied to the color of skin and to the human figure as a field for experimentation.

Jaques Pi's approach to the role of modernity in Picasso's work is a reaction against a large part of the interpretative work developed since 1988. This argument will challenge the prevailing symbolic readings of the sexual undercurrents that emerged in discussions of *Les Demoiselles* and focused particularly on *The Harem*. In her reading, far from representing a complex sexual narrative, *The Harem* reflects a pictorial critique of Matisse's and Derain's reverence toward Ingres. Through a prosaic translation of *The Turkish Bath*, Picasso invokes the work of his French contemporaries—Matisse's *Le Bonheur de vivre* (Joy of Life) and Derain's *L'Âge d'or* (Golden Age)—in a parodic register. The evasive and exotic airs of the Fauves dissipate in Picasso's rendering. The set of nudes inspired by Fernande Olivier and the inclusion of a traditional Catalan repast (bread, tomato, and a *porrón* of wine) point to a subversion of the domestic setting. This metapictorial reading of *The Harem* is based on a formalist understanding of artistic modernity. Following this same logic, Jaques Pi reasserts a principle that had lost ground in historiography: tying the innovations of Gósol to the birth of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* through proto-Cubism. She identifies Cubist principles in Picasso's still lifes, in the dialectical relationship between the figures and the background, in the tripart visual structure of *The Harem*, and in the multiplication of the figure of Fernande.[32] She also sees this proto-Cubism in the dissonant head-body assemblage in *Reclining Nude (Fernande)* and *Gertrude Stein*. This final element represents the most daring and disruptive invention arising from Picasso's time in Gósol—and his point of no return.[33]

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[31] The most notable case of iconographic types would be the use of Josep Fondevila's features in the mask motif. Ibid., 106–9.

[32] These repetitions foreshadow "one of the defining questions of Cubism: envisioning the object successively in a way that creates a space of anti-illusion." Ibid., 77. She explains: "A single figure is repeated in a single setting, thus advancing the successive comprehension of time and space that characterizes Cubism and collage" (120).

[33] On *Reclining Nude (Fernande)*, Jaques Pi writes: "Picasso's primitivism is as dizzying as it is fruitful, and it is establishing the foundation for, among other things, the aesthetics of collage." Ibid., 104. On the joining of the head and body in *Gertrude Stein*, she adds: "in fact, it is sculpturally fixed on the shoulders, which also advances an aesthetics of collage and synthetic Cubism" (114).

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List of Works

PABLO RUIZ PICASSO

Montañas de Málaga
(Mountains of Málaga)
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60.5 × 82 cm
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1958.45
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Documents from the Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers. Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
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Portrait of Fernande Olivier
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p. 242

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DE02357
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MP521
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Oil on canvas
80.3 × 64.1 cm (canvas); panel: 81.6 × 65.4 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Florene May Schoenborn and Samuel A. Marx
1959.619
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Femme debout marchant
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Back View)
1906
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41 × 26.5 cm
Private collection. Galería Leandro Navarro
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Femme se coiffant
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1906
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42.2 × 26 × 31.8 cm
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MP1981-3
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1906
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100 × 81.3 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York. Bequest of Gertrude Stein, 1946
47.106
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1906
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61.5 × 48 cm
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Paris or Gósol, 1906
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31.3 × 23.5 cm
Colección Abelló, Madrid
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1906
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157 × 117 cm
Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris.
Jean Walter and Paul Guillaume
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Nu debout (Study for
"Nude with Clasped Hands")
(Standing Nude)
1906
Conté crayon on paper
62.3 × 47.3 cm
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1906
Gouache on paper
77.47 × 56.52 × 5.08 cm
Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene
and Margaret McDermott Art Fund,
Inc. Bequest of Mrs. Eugene McDermott
2019.67.19.McD
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Nude with Joined Hands
1906
Oil on canvas
153.7 × 94.3 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
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SPC27.1990
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MP489
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1906
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16.5 × 9.5 cm
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(Head of a Woman [Fernande])
Paris, 1906
Bronze
35 × 24 × 25 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris.
Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
MP234
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Tête de Fernande
(Head of Fernande)
1906
Oil and gouache on canvas
37.5 × 33.1 cm
Private collection
p. 179

Two Nudes
1906
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48 × 31.5 cm
Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin, Museum Berggruen
NG MB 9/2000
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1906
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BMA 1941.99
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78.2514.46
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1906
Oil on canvas
127 × 90.8 cm
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Bequest of Florence May Schoenborn, 1996
826.1996
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Woman with Kerchief (Portrait of Fernande Olivier)
1906
Gouache and charcoal on paper
66.04 × 49.53 cm
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. T. Catesby Jones Collection
47.10.78
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Woman with Loaves
1906
Oil on canvas
99.5 × 69.8 cm
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. Gift of Charles E. Ingersoll, 1931
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Nu assis (étude pour “Les Demoiselles d’Avignon”)
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Winter 1906–07
Oil on canvas
121 × 93.5 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
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Nu debout I
(Standing Nude I)
Winter 1906–07
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22.8 × 15.1 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
MP1906
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Nu debout I
(Standing Nude I)
1906–07
Drypoint on celluloid. Second state. Proof on Ingres paper with ochre-red gouache effect, printed by the artist, marked II
22.8 × 15 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
MP1907
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Nu debout I
(Standing Nude I)
1906–07
Drypoint on celluloid. Third state. Proof on Ingres paper with ochre-red gouache effect, printed by the artist, marked III
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Musée national Picasso-Paris. Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
MP1908
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1906–07
Bronze
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Musée national Picasso-Paris. Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
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Oil on canvas
58.5 × 46.5 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
MP18
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Álbum 7 (Carnet 7)
May–June 1907
India ink, graphite pencil, and gouache on lined paper
22 × 11.6 cm
Colección Museo Casa Natal Picasso, Málaga

Desnudo con las manos cruzadas, de frente
(Nude with Clasped Hands, Front)
22 × 11.6 cm; framed: 65.5 × 47.5 × 4 cm
p. 208 (top left)

Estudio para la señorita de los brazos levantados: desnudo con las manos juntas
(Study for the Young Lady with Arms Raised: Nude with Joined Hands)
22 × 11.6 cm; framed: 65.5 × 47.5 × 4 cm
p. 208 (top right)

Estudio para la señorita de los brazos levantados: desnudo con los brazos en jarras
(Study for the Young Lady with Arms Raised: Nude with Arms Akimbo)
22 × 11.6 cm; framed: 65.5 × 47.5 × 4 cm
p. 208 (bottom right)

Estudio para la señorita de los brazos levantados: desnudo de pie con las manos juntas
(Study for the Young Lady with Arms Raised: Standing Nude with Joined Hands)
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p. 208 (bottom left)

Estudio para la cabeza de “Desnudo con paños”
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1907
Watercolor and gouache on paper
31 × 24.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
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(Study for Woman with Joined Hands: Head of a Woman [Carnet 5])
1907
Pen, India ink, wash, and pencil
20 × 14 cm
Private collection
p. 238

Female Nude with Arms Raised
1907
Gouache on paper
63 × 47 cm
Sainsbury Centre, University of East Anglia, United Kingdom
p. 253

Femme nue de trois-quarts dos (Portrait préparatoire aux Demoiselles d'Avignon)
(Nude Woman, Three-Quarter Back View [Preparatory portrait for *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*])
1907
Oil on canvas
75 × 53 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Gift of Bernard and Almine Ruiz Picasso, 2005
MP2005-2
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Portrait of André Salmon
1907
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62.9 × 47.6 cm
The Menil Collection, Houston
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Tête
(Head)
Paris, 1907
Beechwood and paint
37 × 20 × 12.5 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris.
Dation Jacqueline Picasso, 1990
MP1990-51
p. 220

Pequeña figura
(Small Figure)
1907 (cast in 1964)
Bronze
23.5 × 5.5 × 5.5 cm
Colección Museo Picasso Málaga.
Gift of Christine Ruiz-Picasso
MPM1.60
p. 217

Tête de femme (Fernande)
(Head of a Woman [Fernande])
Fall 1909
Lost-wax cast and polished
41.3 × 24.7 × 26.6 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía
DE01552
p. 254

Femmes à la toilette
(Women at Their Toilette)
1956
Oil on canvas
195.5 × 130 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris.
Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979
MP210
pp. 250 (detail), 255

UNKNOWN AUTHOR

Orant
Iberian Peninsula, n.d.
Bronze
10.5 × 1.6 × 1.2 cm
Musée national Picasso-Paris,
Personal collection of Pablo Picasso
Dation Pablo Picasso, 1979. MP3635
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Egyptian mask
Egypt, Late Period, 664–332 BCE
Wood, paint, and plaster
32 × 41 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
15244B
p. 190

(Antiphon Painter)
Kylix (drinking cup)
Attica, 490–480 BCE
Clay, pigment, ceramic grog,
and ancient varnish
Maximum diameter: 30.4 cm; base: 9.4 cm; mouth: 23 cm; height: 9.4 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
11269
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Bust
5th century BCE
Polychromed clay
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Museo Arqueológico Nacional
2008/57/1
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Head
5th century BCE
Limestone
10 × 6 × 6.2 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
2649
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Head
5th century BCE
Limestone
11 × 8 × 7 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
2639
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Head
Sanctuary of Cerro de los Santos (Montealegre del Castillo, Albacete), 4th–3rd century BCE
Sandstone
13.5 × 5.6 × 13.2 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
7644
p. 196

Sitting lady
Sanctuary of Cerro de los Santos (Montealegre del Castillo, Albacete), 4th–3rd century BCE
Polychromed sandstone
42.5 × 15 × 16.5 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
7600
p. 212

Figure
200–150 BCE
Clay, ceramic grog, engobe, and pigment
28 × 9.50 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
2002/114/25
p. 148

Male head
Sanctuary of Cerro de los Santos (Montealegre del Castillo, Albacete), 2nd–1st century BCE
Carved limestone
21 × 22 × 24 cm
Museo de Albacete, held at the Museo Arqueológico Nacional
7535
p. 222 (left)

Male head
Sanctuary of Cerro de los Santos (Montealegre del Castillo, Albacete), 2nd–1st century BCE
Limestone
24 × 20 × 12 cm
Museo Arqueológico Nacional
7505
p. 222 (right)

Efebo apolíneo (Apollonian Ephebus)
1st–2nd century CE
Copper-based alloy
140 cm
Collection of the Junta de Andalucía. Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba
p. 119 (left)

Efebo dionisíaco (Dionysian Ephebus)
1st–2nd century CE
Copper-based alloy
122 cm
Collection of the Junta de Andalucía. Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba
p. 119 (right)

Virgen de Gósol (Virgin of Gósol)
Iglesia de Santa María del Castillo de Gósol (Berguedà), 2nd half of the 12th century
Polychromed wood carving and metallic leaf with gold-effect varnish
77 × 30 × 26 cm
Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona
Acquisition 1930. MNAC 015936-000
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Hanging mask
Fang culture (Equatorial Guinea),
1st third of the 19th century
Wood
5.5 × 3.8 × 1.9 cm
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 244

Female Byeri
Fang culture (Equatorial Guinea), 19th century
Wood carving, vegetable fiber, and gold-colored metal
63.5 × 14 × 14 cm
Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid
CE11789
p. 214

Representation of a woman with tribal scarification
Vere culture (Nigeria), 2nd half of the 19th century
Wood, glass beads, and coconut shell
37.5 × 12.7 × 12.8 cm
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 216

Figure representing a musician
Liberia (Western Africa), late 19th century
Metal
12.5 × 6.2 cm
Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid
CE19703
p. 214

Arm mask
Fang culture (Equatorial Guinea),
turn of the 19th to 20th century or
1st third of the 20th century
Wood
13.7 × 16.5 × 3.3 cm
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 245

Male mask
Iwa-Iwa or Iwala culture (Democratic Republic of the Congo), turn of the 19th to 20th century
Wood
40 × 19 × 19 cm
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 236

Arm mask
Fang culture (Equatorial Guinea),
early 20th century
Wood
10.5 × 4.5 × 2.5 cm
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 245

Fang mask
Early 20th century
Wood
29.5 × 15 cm
Private collection
p. 215

Pende mask
Early 20th century
Wood
22 × 17 cm
Private collection
p. 246

Two women, very likely Dinka, from Sudan
1st third of the 20th century
Photograph
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 233

Fernande Belvallé Olivier
ca. 1906–09
Photograph
Documents from the Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers. Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
YCAL MSS 76
p. 175

Gertrude Stein sitting on a sofa in her Paris studio, with a portrait of her by Pablo Picasso, and other modern art paintings hanging on the wall behind her
Paris, May 1930
Photography
Wide World Photos, Inc. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
2011645501
p. 227

PAUL CEZANNE

Les Grands Baigneurs
(The Large Bathers)
ca. 1898
Color lithograph on paper
47.4 × 56 cm
Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. Gift of don Joaquín de Zuazagoitia in 1933
82/369
p. 126

JEAN-BAPTISTE-CAMILLE COROT

Jeune fille à sa toilette
(Girl at Her Toilette)
1850–75
Oil on panel
34 × 24 cm
Musée du Louvre, Paris. Department of Paintings
p. 154

El baño de Diana (La fuente)
(Diana Bathing [The Fountain])
ca. 1869–70
Oil on canvas
72.1 × 41 cm
Colección Carmen Thyssen, held at the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza
p. 155

FRANÇOIS-EDMOND FORTIER

Postcards from the Afrique Occidentale series
Dakar (Senegal), 1st third of the 20th century

Fille Foulah
(Fula Girl)
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 134 (top right)

Jeune femme Foulah
(Young Fula Woman)
Postcard no. 1032
Biblioteca y Centro de Documentación, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid
p. 195 (right)

Jeune femme Saussai
(Young Sossé Woman)
Postcard no. 1223
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 195 (left)

Jeunes filles de Dakar
(Young Women from Dakar)
Postcard no. 1166
Colección Sánchez-Ubiría
p. 233 (left)

WILHELM VON GLOEDEN

Taormina: Wilhelm von Gloeden
Roland Barthes (Prol.)
Twelvetrees Press. Pasadena, California, 1986
Publication
108 pp.: ill.; 35 cm
Biblioteca y Centro de Documentación, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid
p. 118 (photographs)

EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)

San Sebastián
1610–14
Oil on canvas
201.5 × 111 cm
(assembled 234 × 137 × 8 cm)
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
p. 123

JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES

Femme nue
(Nude Woman)
1826
Test in black stone
39.2 × 16.9 cm
Musée Ingres Bourdelle, Montauban
MI.867.1244
p. 150

Famille à l'agneau
(The Family of the Lamb)
1843–47
Graphite on parchment paper
37.6 × 14.4 cm
Musée Ingres Bourdelle, Montauban
MI.867.592
p. 151

Danseuse
(Female Dancer)
1851
Graphite on parchment paper
46.6 × 15.2 cm
Musée Ingres Bourdelle, Montauban
MI.867.146
p. 151

MAN RAY (EMMANUEL RADNITZKY)

Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas in their apartment at 27 rue de Fleurus, Paris
1922
Photograph
Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
YCAL MSS 76
pp. 224–225

Other Reproduced Works

UNKNOWN AUTHOR

(Upper part by an unknown sculptor of the school of Aphrodisias)
Narcisse dit aussi Hermaphrodite Mazarin ou Le Génie du repos éternel
(Narcissus also known as Mazarin Hermaphrodite or The Spirit of Eternal Repose)
3rd century CE
Marble
187 cm
Musée du Louvre, Paris. Former Mazarin collection
MA435
p. 33

Masque Fang (Gabon)
(Fang mask [Gabon])
20th century, originally from Gabon, documented in France before 1906
Wood
42 × 28.5 × 14.7 cm
Centre Pompidou - Musée national d'art moderne - Centre de création industrielle, Paris
AM1982-248
p. 49

PAUL CÉZANNE

Madame Cézanne en robe rouge
(Madame Cézanne in a Red Dress)
1888–90
Oil on canvas
93 × 74 cm
Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand. Gift of Guilherme Guinle, José Alfredo de Almeida, Banco Brasileiro de Descontos, anonymous donor, Indústrias Químicas e Farmacêuticas Schering S.A., Moinho Santista S.A., Moinho Fluminense S.A., 1949
MASP.00088
p. 65

ALVIN LANGDON COBURN

Gertrude Stein
1913
Photograph
George Eastman Museum. Bequest of Alvin Langdon Coburn
1979.4010.0001
p. 45

FRANÇOIS-EDMOND FORTIER

Postcards from the Afrique Occidentale series
Dakar (Senegal), 1st third of the 20th century

Femme Malinké
(Mandinka Woman)
Postcard no. 1323, study no. 2
Documents from the Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers. Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
YCAL MSS 76
p. 134 (top left)

Femme Malinké
(Mandinka Woman)
Postcard no. 1405, study no. 84
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Personal archive of Pablo Picasso
APPH14930
p. 134 (bottom left)

Jeune femme Foulah
(Young Foulah Woman)
Postcard no. 1339, study no. 18
Musée national Picasso-Paris. Personal archive of Pablo Picasso
APPH14925
p. 134 (bottom right)

PABLO RUIZ PICASSO

Standing Nude
1906
Pencil on laid paper
62.7 × 45.9 cm
Museum of Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI. Gift of Mrs. Murray S. Danforth
43.011
p. 45

Picasso
1905

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Cover and p. 270: *Nude with Joined Hands*; pp. 2–3: *Autoportrait*; p. 16: *Buste de jeune femme*; p. 84: *Nu assis*; p. 114: *Jeune garçon nu*; p. 144: *Woman and Devil* (*Femme et diable*); p. 160: *Paysage*; p. 172: *Tête de femme*; p. 186: *Femme nue de trois-quarts dos*; p. 202: *Nu assis (étude pour "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon")*; p. 250: *Femmes à la toilette*; p. 287: *Salomé* (all are details).

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